

**GOODWIN B. WATSON, WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., AND
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ACTING UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 105
ON THE
FITNESS FOR CONTINUANCE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT OF
GOODWIN B. WATSON AND WILLIAM E. DODD, JR.,
EMPLOYEES OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS
COMMISSION, AND ROBERT MORSS LOVETT,
AN EMPLOYEE OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF THE INTERIOR

Printed for the use of the Committee on Appropriations



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H. RES. 105, 78TH CONG., 1ST SESS.

Adopted Feb. 9, 1943

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, acting through a special subcommittee thereof appointed by the chairman of such committee for the purposes of this resolution, is authorized and directed to examine into any and all allegations or charges that certain persons in the employ of the several executive departments and other executive agencies are unfit to continue in such employment by reason of their present association or membership or past association or membership in or with organizations whose aims or purposes are or have been subversive to the Government of the United States. Such examination shall be pursued with the view of obtaining all available evidence bearing upon each particular case and reporting to the House the conclusions of the committee with respect to each such case in the light of the factual evidence obtained. Any legislation approved by the committee as a result of this resolution may be incorporated in any general or special appropriation measure emanating from such committee or may be offered as a committee amendment to any such measure notwithstanding the provisions of clause 2 of rule XXI.

For the purposes of this resolution, such committee or any subcommittee thereof is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books or papers or documents or vouchers by subpoena or otherwise, and to take such testimony and records as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or by any person designated by him, and shall be served by such person or persons as the chairman of the committee or subcommittee may designate. The chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses.

**GOODWIN B. WATSON, WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., AND
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT**

**HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
TIVES, ACTING UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION 105 OF THE
SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, MESSRS. JOHN H. KERR, CHAIR-
MAN, ALBERT GORE, CLINTON P. ANDERSON, D. LANE POWERS,
AND FRANK B. KEEFE, ON THE DAYS FOLLOWING, NAMELY:**

FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1943.

The special subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment on Wednesday, April 7, 1943, in room 449, Old House Office Building, Representative John H. Kerr, chairman of the special subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Representatives Kerr (chairman of the special subcommittee), Gore, Anderson of New Mexico, Powers, and Keefe.

Present also: R. E. Lambert, clerk to the special subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. The special subcommittee will please come to order. Dr. Watson, please stand, hold up your right hand and be sworn: You solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this special subcommittee in this investigation will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God?

Dr. WATSON. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON, CHIEF OF THE ANAL-
YSIS DIVISION, FOREIGN BROADCAST INTELLIGENCE SERV-
ICE, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION**

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, some charges have been made against you in regard to your activities as an official of the Government. This special subcommittee has been designated to investigate those charges and to give you the fundamental right to be heard about them.

The charges involve evidence accumulated or collected through the various activities of the Government, five branches. We will try to consider this evidence together, but will begin by asking you about certain charges made by the Dies committee. If you would like to look at the record you will find exhibits 1 to 6, inclusive, being photostatic copies of exchange of correspondence between Representative Martin Dies, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities and the Honorable James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

First, I will ask you for the record: Are you a member of the Federal Communications Commission?

Dr. WATSON. No, I am simply an employee of the Federal Communications Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that you are an employee, but wondered if you were a member of that Commission.

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with the Federal Communications Commission?

Dr. WATSON. Since November 15, 1941, about 18 months.

The CHAIRMAN. I should think this subcommittee would be helped if you would give your background, giving it as succinctly as you can. First, tell us about your duties in the Federal Communications Commission.

Dr. WATSON. I am in charge of the Analysis Division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, which is an agency under the Federal Communications Commission. I am responsible for the work of about 40 people who are engaged daily in the analysis and interpretation of records of broadcasts from all over the world, picked up at various field stations and sent in to us by wire. The results of our studies are issued in weekly reports and special reports which go to responsible agencies of the Government concerned with our foreign policy—the State Department, Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, the Lend-Lease Administration, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the significance of such inquiry—I mean, the work of the Analysis Division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service—since the beginning of the war?

Dr. WATSON. This service was set up prior to the war in anticipation that the war of propaganda was a very important part of modern warfare and therefore we needed to be qualified to understand what was going on.

I think the initial purpose was to have charge of propaganda coming into this country from foreign countries, and we still maintain that control. As the work has gone on, however, we have found it more and more valuable as an index of what is happening in the Axis and occupied countries. Radio broadcasts from those countries shed a good deal of light on the course of events.

The CHAIRMAN. Having stated your connection with the Federal Communications Commission, now give us a little of your background.

Dr. WATSON. I was born in Wisconsin, Whitewater, being a member of families which for 10 generations had been in the United States, my father and mother of course being native-born Americans. My father's people came over in 1630.

My education was at the State Teachers College at Whitewater, at the University of Wisconsin, and later postgraduate study in Denver University, in the Union Theological Seminary, in Columbia University, at the University of Berlin, and the University of Vienna.

I have served as a Methodist minister, as director of religious education, instructor in religious education at Union Theological Seminary, and for 17 years have been connected with the Teachers College at Columbia University, first as instructor, then as assistant professor, and then as professor in the field of education. My particular field is social psychology.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come direct from Columbia University to the Government?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I am on leave of absence from Columbia University.

The CHAIRMAN. This charge involves six exhibits, 1 to 6, inclusive, and I will read what we have here:

In his letter to Chairman Fly, Chairman Dies made two general charges against Goodwin Watson, namely, that "Goodwin Watson has been a propagandist for communism and the Soviet Union for many years," and that Watson "has publicly associated himself" with a number of "the front organizations of the Communist Party."

And I have here the first six exhibits, being photostats. Would you like to look over them?

Dr. WATSON. If you please.

Representative GORE. Mr. Chairman, in the letter from Dr. Watson—and I suppose all members of the subcommittee have a copy of it—he requested an opportunity to submit a preliminary statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, have you any further preliminary statement you would like to make? I mean, in addition to the one you have already made to the subcommittee in answer to my questions.

Dr. WATSON. I should like to make a further statement if the subcommittee is willing I should do so.

The CHAIRMAN. While we have the desire to go ahead as expeditiously as we can, you might proceed to make any additional preliminary statement you wish to make, that will not involve a great deal of time. As you doubtless know, we are all very busy.

Dr. WATSON. I understand that, Mr. Chairman, and am very anxious to finish the hearing quickly. One reason for sending copies in advance, I thought I might save some time in the hearing. If you will permit me to introduce it and comment on it, that might save you some time, and the members of the subcommittee might propound any questions they wish to propound.

Representative GORE. I will say that I have read the statement furnished by Dr. Watson, as I suppose the other members of the subcommittee have. If I might suggest, undoubtedly the members of the subcommittee will read your statement, in addition to your comments on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement submitted will be made a part of your testimony, and then you may proceed to comment on it.

Dr. WATSON. Here is the statement:

I. RECORD IN OFFICE

A public official accused of un-American activities should be judged first by his record in office. For more than 18 months I have been Chief of the Analysis Division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service. The Division was organized under my direction. Under my supervision the Analysis Division has prepared 70 issues of The Weekly Review of Official Foreign Broadcasts, 18 issues of the Radio Report on the Far East, 13 issues of the Central European Radio Analysis plus some 70 special reports. These have been written for confidential use by officials in State Department, Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, Office of War Information, Office of Strategic Services, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Board of Economic Warfare, Lend-Lease Administration, Department of

Justice, and other agencies concerned with our foreign policy. Copies have regularly gone to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. We have abundant evidence that these reports are read with care. We have unsolicited statements of appreciation and commendation from other agencies. We have never received a single word intimating that radical or reactionary or any other kind of bias or any un-American outlook operated in the work we have produced.

I believe also that I have the confidence of all who have been working with me; the analysts, the clerical staff, and those to whom I am responsible. These are American citizens with various types of background, education, religion, and political persuasion, but all share in common loyalty to this country and its Constitution. Is it not incredible that none among them would notice subversive tendencies in the division head if such tendencies were to be found? (Document 18 in the dossier submitted by the F. C. C. was produced by the staff without my knowledge, and signed by every member at that time. I feel certain that a similar response would be made today by the much larger group.)

II. REPUTATION WITH COLLEAGUES

A second sound basis for judging the loyalty of a public official is found in the opinions of his neighbors and coworkers who have known him over many years. As I understand it, not one person among my hundreds of colleagues at Teachers College of Columbia University, and in the National Council of the Y. M. C. A., and not one among the officials with whom I have had close contact in other Government agencies, has brought any charges against me. I doubt whether anyone could be found who has worked as my close associate in any capacity for any period of time, who places any credence in charges that I have been guilty of un-American or subversive activities. This is a sweeping statement. I realize that the most virtuous may be attacked by crackpots, that everyone makes some enemies; and that I have often been quite outspoken. Nevertheless, I think it is true that no indication of any suspicion of my Americanism or my devotion to democracy can be found among my colleagues or neighbors, my secretaries or assistants, or among those prominent in my professional field of social psychology.

On the contrary, when these charges were made I was heartened by a flood of responses from distinguished psychologists and educators, and from the students and faculty at Teachers College. The head of the college, Dean William F. Russell, wrote the letter reproduced as document 20 in the dossier. Some of my closest associates sent a telegram (document 12); later 57 signed a petition and press release on my behalf, but quite without any request from me (document 31). On February 19, 1942, a protest addressed to the Senate of the United States asserted that I am "known as a loyal supporter of the democratic practices of the American tradition," and was signed by 188 students in Teachers College, coming from 40 different States. This petition, too, was done on their own initiative.

Among the outstanding social psychologists who volunteered letters and telegrams expressing their confidence in my loyalty, patriotism, and integrity were:

Prof. Harold Lasswell, University of Chicago.
 Prof. Hadley Cantril, Princeton University.
 Prof. Floyd Allport, Syracuse University.
 Prof. Gordon Allport, Harvard University.
 Prof. John Dollard, Yale University.
 Prof. Paul R. Farnsworth, Stanford University.
 Prof. Arthur I. Gates, Columbia University.
 Prof. James Gibson, Smith College.
 Prof. J. P. Guilford, University of Southern California.
 Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach, University of Washington.
 Prof. Donald W. MacKinnon, Yale University.
 Prof. Douglas McGregor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 Prof. M. A. Merrill, Stanford University.
 Prof. Gardner Murphy, College of the City of New York.
 Prof. H. A. Murray, Harvard University.
 Prof. L. M. Terman, Stanford University.
 Prof. Edward C. Tolman, University of California.
 Prof. Franklin Fearing, University of California.
 Prof. W. C. H. Prentice, University of Vermont.
 Prof. L. Joseph Stone, Vassar College.
 Profs. David A. Grant, Harry F. Harlow, Delos D. Wickens, and W. J. Grogden, all of the University of Wisconsin.
 Prof. L. M. Hanks, Jr., University of Illinois.
 Prof. J. B. Rhine, University of North Carolina.
 Prof. Arthur W. Kornhauser, University of Chicago.
 Prof. A. R. Gilliland, Northwestern University.
 Prof. S. Stanfield Sargent, Barnard College.
 Prof. Daniel Leary, University of Buffalo.
 Prof. Margaret S. Quayle, State Teachers College, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Prof. K. W. Oberlin and Mary Henle, University of Delaware.
 Prof. Irving E. Bender, Dartmouth College.
 Prof. Robert R. Sears, University of Iowa.
 Prof. Ray H. Simpson, University of Alabama.
 Profs. Horace English, Sidney Pressey, Carl Rogers, Harold Edgerton, Francis Robinson, Floyd Dokeray, Robert Williams, Francis Maxfield, Harold Burr, and Henry Goddard, all of Ohio State University.
 Prof. T. F. Lentz, University of Washington.
 Prof. Leo B. Fagan, St. Louis University.
 Prof. J. F. Dashiell, University of North Carolina.

I believe that this is the first and only occasion on which so many leading psychology professors from all over the United States have joined in any political action. That they chose to do so on my behalf leaves me feeling humbly grateful.

Although I am a psychologist, I have worked and written in the field of education and religious education. You will note in the dossier submitted by the F. C. C. statements of support from the following educators outside Teachers College:

Dr. George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education and formerly United States Commissioner of Education.
 Prof. Mark May, director of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.
 Frederick L. Reeder, secretary of the Progressive Education Association.
 Prof. Frederick C. McLaughlin, University of Missouri.
 Mrs. A. W. Clevenger, president, Illinois State Division, American Association of University Women.
 Dr. Edward W. Jones, director of personnel, University of Buffalo.
 Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, New York.
 Jay A. Urice, associate general secretary, National Council of the Y. M. C. A.
 Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary.

The Eastern Sociological Society on April 25, 1942, unanimously approved a resolution expressing confidence in my loyalty to American ideals. This, again, was without any request on my part and came to me as a welcome surprise.

III. WRITINGS

Since I have written 10 books or substantial monographs, have contributed chapters or magazine articles numbering more than 200, and have made at least twice that number of public speeches, it is appropriate to investigate the Americanism of these expressions. Such an investigation, however, should, in my judgment, observe two principles, both of which were violated by the Dies committee. First, the general tenor, purport, and context should be considered; almost any point can be proved with short passages read apart from their setting in the whole text. Second, an honest investigation would look for the fundamental creed of the writer, his basic assumptions, faith, and values. It would not be confined to an attempt to find a sentence somewhere which can be made to look dangerous. Fitness to hold public office depends upon the man's persistent outlook and deep convictions.

Since the articles are too numerous for comment and are more casually prepared, let us examine briefly the conclusions I think one would reach from a judicial examination of my 10 books.

1. *The Measurement of Fair Mindedness* (1925): The writer has developed a test which will show the different prejudices of radicals and conservatives; he recognizes that there may be bias in either direction; he does not condone one extreme more than the other.

2. *Case Studies for Teachers of Religion* (1926): The writer is a liberal Christian, interested in using a case method for training Sunday School teachers. He believes in democratic rather than authoritarian relationships.

3. *Experimentation and Measurement in Religious Education* (1927): The writer is trying to develop scientific techniques for judging how effective our traditional procedures in religious education really are. He is seeking objective answers rather than offering any personal opinions.

4. *Orient and Occident* (1927): A research project for the Institute of Pacific Relations, designed to discover what representative groups of Americans think and feel about Japan and China. This is a scientific study which presents factual findings but no propaganda pro or con.

5. *Educational Problems for Psychological Study* (1930): Here another application of the case method. Concrete cases are presented for discussion. The author suggests questions and references to standard psychology books, but does not argue for any position. The objective is clearly to bring theory closer to practice. The educational philosophy is that of Dewey and Kilpatrick, stressing democracy in the classroom.

6. *Tests of Personality and Character* (1932): A technical monograph reviewing practically all studies published up to date on the measurement of personality and character. No social views expressed.

7. *Human Resources* (1936): This monograph, prepared by the writer for the American Council on Education, argues that a civiliza-

tion must be tested not by material progress alone, but by what it does for people as human beings. It outlines what might be done in America to improve child health, education, recreation, the vocational adjustment of youth, and constructive democratic citizenship. Economic changes are recognized as necessary to solve the paradox of poverty in potential plenty, but this is seen as an educational problem.

If important changes are to be made within a democracy, the citizens must first think through the problem * * * Government activity cannot, of course, be directed toward the promulgation of a particular viewpoint on controversial issues, but government may properly provide arrangements whereby citizens may be encouraged to do more and better thinking on problems of national concern (p. 59).

The monograph urges the development of five research groups: One on human genetics, one on childhood, one on youth, one on adult life, and one concerned with such special projects as personnel, and the relation of local to State and Federal Government.

8. *Redirecting Teacher Education* (1938): The writers suggest plans for getting better teachers. They proposed to interest able high-school students in teaching as a career. They want students who are to be teachers to have had more experience with life, more travel, and more practice in earning a living on the farm and in cities. They urge also that prospective teachers shall have more contacts with children under normal life conditions outside of school.

9. *Education and Social Welfare in Mexico* (1939): A study of the progress of the Mexican schools under the regime of President Lazaro Cardenas. Several passages from textbooks are translated, the longest being a description of how pupils improved their community by cleaning the streets, getting pure drinking water, growing fruit trees, and so forth. Consumer and producer cooperatives are described, but the distinction between plans on paper and actual achievements is noted.

10. *Psychology of Civilian Morale* (1942): This book attempts to bring together all that psychologists have discovered about morale. The manuscript was largely completed before Pearl Harbor, but was so fundamental that it required relatively little revision thereafter. I served as editor of the volume and actually wrote the chapters on Five Factors in Morale; Morale and Labor Unions (a discussion bringing out both pros and cons but on the whole favorable toward organized labor); and Morale During a Previous Period of Stress (a statistical study of morale among the unemployed in 1934). The volume was a Yearbook of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues and was adopted by the Scientific Book of the Month Club.

It may be presumed that the Dies committee, with ample funds, carefully reviewed these major works. Yet not a single sentence did they produce from any of my books which might help to bolster charges of subversive views. Neither, of course, did they report that a survey of my most carefully considered writings would reveal a writer interested in religious values, psychological techniques, and the improvement of society by educational means.

The few statements challenged by the Dies committee were selected from an unrepresentative handful of articles or speeches. In some instances the statement was misinterpreted, due perhaps to faulty

writing or to faulty reading. In some instances the statement represented a view held in the early days of the depression but a position I would not now defend. Clearly, allowance must be made for growth and changing ideas in periods of change as rapid as the past decade. In a few instances the statement represented the hyperbole into which teachers and speakers occasionally fall when they try to make a point stick by the device of exaggeration. Such instances are regrettable, but I am glad that they have been relatively rare. No statements imply any disloyalty to the United States of America or its Constitution of political democracy. The challenges concern matters on which the Congress never has, and I trust never will, set up any economic creed which all officials are compelled to accept. It is not un-American to have ideas for change, within our laws and Constitution. There is room for difference of opinion among officials in a democracy.

For representative expressions of my views on social, political, and economic questions I should like to direct the attention of the committee to the excerpts presented on pages 95-105 of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate, Seventy-seventh Congress, second session, on H. R. 6430. Among them will be found my words of praise for American ideals and achievements; my assertion that "Americanism has brought us far ahead of the schools of any other land at any time in history"; my testimony to the importance of individual initiative and business enterprise; my condemnation of the totalitarian state; my description of the failure of socialism in Austria; my attempt to mobilize America for defense in 1940, while fellow travelers were conducting Peace Mobilization; my criticisms of the U. S. S. R. for low standards of living, pseudodemocracy, rigid education, totalitarian regimentation of culture, and for putting new policies into operation on a wholesale scale with liquidation or persecution of dissenters. There is no ambiguity about a statement like this, for example, from my article in the *Epworth Herald* (May 4, 1940):

We believe in democracy in government. It is especially in government that the American people are committed to the practice of democracy. We don't want dictatorship in Washington, and we have set up special investigating committees on Americanism to make sure that foreign dictatorships do not gain a foothold on our soil.

The best expression, I believe, of my main theme in talks and articles bearing on social change is the following quotation from a chapter entitled "The Forward View" which I wrote for a book called *The Teacher and Society*, published in 1937.

This book ends as it began, with the teacher and the American dream. The American dream has been not of a Golden Age in the past but of a better life possible of attainment in the not-too-distant future. In the first days of this Nation the fathers envisioned the establishment of democracy, liberty, equality, and better conditions of life for the people * * *. American dreams still look to the future, but in terms of substantial progress already made.

IV. ORGANIZATIONS

It may be helpful, in judging the fitness of a public official, to investigate the organizations to which he gives his membership, time, and money. I confess to having been something of a joiner. I belong to most of the relevant professional organizations and have tried to

help a little in many agencies which seemed to me to foster a worthy purpose of community service. The organizations which have been major during the past 10 years, in that I have paid dues, attended conventions, held office, or given a fair amount of time, have been the following:

American Association for the Advancement of Science.
 American Association for Applied Psychology.
 American Association of University Professors.
 American Civil Liberties Union.
 American Education Research Association.
 American Farm Bureau Federation.
 American Federation of Teachers.
 American Orthopsychiatric Association.
 American Political Science Association.
 American Psychological Association.
 American Red Cross.
 American Society for Public Administration.
 American Sociological Society.
 Automobile Club of New York.
 Child Study Association of America.
 Citizens Union of City of New York.
 Cleveland Conference (Educators).
 Committee for National Morale.
 Consumers Union.
 Foreign Policy Association.
 Hamilton School (Director).
 Institute for Propaganda Analysis.
 Methodist Church.
 Morningside Consumers Cooperative.
 National Conference for Social Work.
 National Education Association.
 National Geographic Society.
 National Planning Association.
 National Society of College Teachers of Education.
 New America.
 Progressive Education Association.
 Religious Education Association.
 Scholia Club.
 Spring Conference (Educators).
 Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues.
 Y. M. C. A.

There may well have been an occasional Communist in one or another of these 36 organizations but I have never been a member or affiliate of any organization known by me to be communist in origin or control, and have never been a member or affiliate of any organization attacked by the Department of Justice as subversive.

V. SUMMARY

A public official who has never joined a subversive organization, whose extensive writings show a strong and consistent loyalty to the United States of America and to our democratic form of government, who has the full support of his professional colleagues from every major university in the country, one against whom no complaint of subversive or disloyal behavior has been made by any person who knows him well, and who has for a year and a half been performing his duties to the satisfaction of highly competent Government officials in several agencies, with complaints from none—such an official has every right to expect to be left free from distraction and harassment, that he may continue to serve his country and to help win the war.

The CHAIRMAN. You might proceed to make your comments.

Dr. WATSON. My comment is simply that there seemed to be four bases on which charges of this sort could be judged, and I have tried to set out my case on those four points.

First is my record in office. I have been working 18 months and gotten out more than 200 reports to those leading Government agencies that are headed by high officials in our Government. We have never had any complaint that any of them was biased in any direction; on the other hand, we have had a great deal of commendation for the work we are doing. I think I have had 100 percent cooperation and backing on the part of all people working with me, both my subordinates and my superiors. I think that is one major fact which should be taken into account, and that is developed on the first page of my statement.

The second line of investigation that would seem to me to be relevant is my standing in my professional field, with the people I have worked with over a period of years. As I understand it not a single complaint has been made at any time by any person who has been closely associated with me as psychologist, as teacher, in my work with the Good Will Council of the Y. M. C. A., and in my work in Washington.

I have listed here some, but not all, of the psychologists and educators who sent in letters and telegrams on their own initiative and without my request that they should do so, when the press carried reports indicating charges had been leveled against me.

In the third place I think the subcommittee would want to judge my fitness by my writings. I have written 10 books, a substantial number of monographs, and more than 200 articles.

The books I have listed on pages 5, 6, and 7 of the memorandum, with brief details of each. I think it is significant that although these books have presumably been gone over, not a single statement from any book has been cited in questioning my fitness. The books reveal, I think, my concern with democracy, for democratic values, for religion, for generally wholesome interpretation. I think any appraisal of them would lead to that conclusion.

I call attention to the fact that in the Senate hearings of the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, I was asked to present some extracts from some of my articles carrying expressions on Americanism, American faith in democracy; and some are listed there that I think will be for the benefit of the subcommittee. I summarize them as indicating my position in regard to communism, my opposition to communism, my criticisms of the Soviet Union, my faith in Americanism, my interest in social change within the framework of our political representative democracy.

Finally, the fourth line of investigation which it seems to me is relevant is the matter of organizations, and again I have listed here from memory as full as I could the 36 organizations to which I have given membership, time, money, held office, or something of the sort during the last 10 years.

I think there is no organization in the list which has been charged by the Department of Justice as a subversive organization. I certainly have never been a member or sponsor of any organization known by me to be Communist in origin or control.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. As I stated awhile ago, the first charge in this record made against you by the Dies committee is in reference to certain correspondence which Representative Dies had with Mr. Fly. Who is Mr. Fly, for the record?

Dr. WATSON. He is the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The first letter written to Mr. Fly by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities is under date of November 18, 1941. Will you look at that charge and tell us what you have to say about it?

Dr. WATSON. As to the letter submitted to me by Judge Kerr, I think it is pretty well answered by the statement I have made. There is only one of the organizations which Chairman Dies alleged, of which I have been a member, the Consumers Union, and that it seems to me is wholly innocuous from a political point of view but useful to consumers in the way of giving information.

The other agencies mentioned represent very casual contact in connection with some worthy meeting, or project or something of the kind, which you can go into in detail if you wish, but which seemed to me to be worth while to support and did not involve sponsorship of the organization.

The charge that I have been a propagandist for communism seems to me to be just false. That has not been the stand I have taken.

Representative GORE. Do you specifically deny having been a member of the organizations set out in the letter of the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities to Mr. Fly?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; all except the Consumers Union.

Representative POWERS. Do you specifically deny having any activity or sympathies as charged in this letter with any or all of these organizations, beginning with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and going down to Social Work Today?

Dr. WATSON. I have had some contact, I think, with each of these organizations, Congressman Powers.

Representative POWERS. With which ones?

Dr. WATSON. With every one of them, in that I have joined with them in some enterprise or other.

Representative POWERS. Knowing the character of the organizations at the time you joined in with them?

Dr. WATSON. Ordinarily not.

Representative POWERS. In any case did you know?

Dr. WATSON. I beg pardon?

Representative POWERS. My question is, In any case did you know the character of the organization?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; in many cases I knew the character of the organization and did not judge it to be a subversive organization.

Representative POWERS. Did you know that some of these organizations were definitely in control of those who were either members of the Communist Party or so-called fellow travelers?

Dr. WATSON. No. It has been my rule not to cooperate in any way with an organization which I knew to be in the control of the Communist Party.

Representative POWERS. How about those organizations with communistic tendencies or leanings?

Dr. WATSON. That is a difficult question to answer. I have not withdrawn from a project that seemed to be worthy because I knew Communists seemed to be active in the same direction. They are sometimes active in good directions as well as bad. I do not think we should abandon any project because some Communists are active in it. On the other hand, when Communists take control, then I have to drop out.

Representative POWERS. In this letter you are accused of being affiliated or having some connection with the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. Right.

Representative POWERS. And that organization has been branded by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative POWERS. What was your connection with this organization?

Dr. WATSON. My connection, as I remember it, was that I joined in sponsoring a congress for peace and democracy held here in Washington. I joined that list of sponsors, although I never attended the congress and had no part in planning the congress, because I noted among the other sponsors people like Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Church, and others whom I respected highly, and who were obviously not Communists; a long list of non-Communists. I do not believe it was an organization under Communist control. I mean, at the time I did not believe it was an organization under Communist control. I do believe now, Congressman Powers, that it is. How far it was under their control at that time I am not sure.

Representative KEEFE. What time are you speaking of now?

Dr. WATSON. That was in 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an active organization now?

Dr. WATSON. I am not sure, but my impression is it was disbanded after it had been attacked.

Representative KEEFE. In other words, disbanded after its character had been exposed.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Ward at the head of it was exposed as a fellow traveler, was he not?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative KEEFE. That is true, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Dr. Ward?

Representative KEEFE. I might say that as I understand it he was a well-known clergyman.

Dr. WATSON. Dr. Ward was a professor of mine at Union Theological Seminary and at the head of the committee on social ethics or something of that sort of the Methodist Church.

Representative KEEFE. At any rate, he was a clergyman?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir. He was at the seminary in Boston.

Representative KEEFE. Was he associated with you at the seminary in Boston?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative POWERS. As to all these 13 organizations the Committee on un-American Activities has branded as either Communist or front organizations for the Communist Party, did you ever publicly repudiate any of these organizations after you had had any connection with them?

Dr. WATSON. No. I do not think I either endorsed or repudiated them.

Representative POWERS. Sponsoring a meeting or dinner or anything else of one of these organizations is, in my opinion, an endorsement.

Dr. WATSON. Do you mean endorsement of the organization?

Representative POWERS. I should say so.

Dr. WATSON. Well, I do not so view it. I think, for example, when they hold a mass meeting in support of public education at Carnegie Hall, and I was interested in trying to get funds in the United States in support of education, I can join that group of sponsors for that meeting without the necessary interpretation that I had lined up with the organization and must thereafter dissociate myself.

Representative POWERS. What exactly did you sponsor for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. I joined in sponsoring this meeting in Washington.

Representative POWERS. And what else?

Dr. WATSON. Nothing else.

Representative POWERS. Were you ever an officer or director in these organizations?

Dr. WATSON. Only in the Consumers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to the American League for Peace and Democracy, tell us what you did with reference to any activity of it.

Dr. WATSON. I had no contact with the organization except on one occasion, after my return from Europe in 1938, being deeply concerned with the development of fascism as it was progressing, it seemed to me at that time threatening the world, and I received a letter asking me if I would join and be one of the sponsors for the Congress Against War and Fascism, or Congress for Peace and Democracy, to be held in Washington, with a series of speakers named —

Representative KEEFE (interposing). You received a letter from whom?

Dr. WATSON. That I do not remember.

Representative KEEFE. How do you remember what was in the letter if you do not know who wrote the letter?

Dr. WATSON. Well, I very much doubt that the record is in existence, but it may be possible from the organization to get a copy of it. I do not remember who the letter was from.

Representative KEEFE. You did not pay any attention to the matter of the character of the man who wrote the letter, did you?

Dr. WATSON. Oh, yes.

Representative KEEFE. Then, do you not know who he was?

Dr. WATSON. No. But I am sure the letter came from a person for whom I had a certain amount of respect. My decision to join it was based on two things —

Representative KEEFE (interposing). Was the letter from Dr. Ward?

Dr. WATSON. I am not sure.

Representative KEEFE. He had been one of your close associates, as I understand.

Dr. WATSON. Not a close associate but an associate. The letter may have been from Bishop McConnell or from someone else like that. Do you have the exhibit on which this charge is based?

Representative KEEFE. Yes. It is here.

Dr. WATSON. If I could see it I might be able to recall that name, or at least give you the name of the secretary of the organization.

Representative GORE. Is it the Congress for Peace and Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative GORE. Here is the document you refer to.

Dr. WATSON. Thank you.

Representative KEEFE. Let me ask you a question in an attempt to clarify the situation: You are familiar with the fact that the American League for Peace and Democracy was the outgrowth of a former organization known as the League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And that this League for Peace and Democracy was formed, I believe, in 1938. The League Against War and Fascism was formed, I believe, in 1933, and followed down through to 1938 when it changed its name into League for World Peace and Democracy. Now, Dr. Ward was associated with the league in its first stages and became president or chairman of the League for World Peace and Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. I think that is right.

Representative KEEFE. Did you have anything to do with the League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. WATSON. Never.

Representative KEEFE. I mean, before the organization of the League for World Peace and Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. No. I had no connection with it at all.

Representative KEEFE. You said the League Against War and Fascism had been transformed into this new organization. And you said that was while you were in Europe; is that right?

Dr. WATSON. What did you say was the date of the transformation?

Representative KEEFE. I think it was in 1938.

Dr. WATSON. I was in Europe during the summer of 1938. I do not know just when they changed their name. It seemed to me as a propaganda move, a good one.

Representative KEEFE. Was the letter which you received asking you to sponsor a congress of some kind, on the stationery of the League for World Peace and Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. No. It was on the stationery of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

Representative KEEFE. Well, that was another organization.

Dr. WATSON. That was simply the meeting, not the organization.

Representative KEEFE. Can you refresh your recollection and tell us who wrote that letter to you?

Dr. WATSON. Harry F. Ward was chairman, Mrs. Victor L. Berger was vice chairman, and Margaret Forsyth was acting treasurer, a lady whom I had known in Y. M. C. A. work. It may have been one of those or none of those. I do know that the list of congress endorsers included members of Congress and—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). I am not asking you what you may have thought, but confining my remarks to this one thing: if you do not know, say so and let us not encumber our record with surmises.

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. You do not know who invited you to become a sponsor of this so-called congress referred to?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. But you do know that you accepted and did become a sponsor?

Dr. WATSON. On the basis——

Representative KEEFE (interposing). No; not on what basis. You know you became a sponsor?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir. Are you asking my reason why?

Representative KEEFE. No. You have stated that heretofore, and I do not want to unnecessarily encumber our record.

Representative GORE. Did you state the reason why?

Representative KEEFE. You stated the reason why, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. I think not.

Representative KEEFE. Well, I will be very glad for you to state it if you have not already stated it.

Dr. WATSON. The first reason was because I was in sympathy with what I understood to be the basic purpose of the congress—to oppose fascism and try to preserve world peace and democracy. And, secondly, because in the list of sponsors there were many people whose names are well known and are not Communists and stand for many things I want to stand for also. Would you be interested in those names?

Representative KEEFE. One moment. Let us go into that matter one step further: You said you received an invitation to attend the American Congress for Peace and Democracy extended by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You said you did not know who invited you to join as an endorser of this American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. Right.

Representative KEEFE. But you do say you received an invitation in the form of a letter from someone.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And issued on a letterhead such as appears in exhibit 11.

Dr. WATSON. It could not have been on the same letterhead, but I am sure it must have included many of those names.

Representative KEEFE. Is that just a surmise?

Dr. WATSON. No. It has become a principle of mine. I would not have joined in in sponsoring the congress unless there had been names of a number of people known to be non-Communists prominent on the list.

Representative KEEFE. As a matter of fact this exhibit carries your name as one of the endorsers, along with the names of other people.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Do I understand that they, perhaps, reprinted some more letterheads afterward, as soon as they got your name?

Dr. WATSON. It is a very common practice.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know that that was done in this case?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You are just guessing at that.

Dr. WATSON. I say, I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. Now, it would be natural to suppose that if the American Congress for Peace and Democracy meeting was called by the American League for Peace and Democracy, that the invitation to you to endorse that movement would come from one of the officers of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Is not that a fair assumption?

Dr. WATSON. That is a fair assumption.

Representative KEEFE. Whose officers were Harry F. Ward, chairman; Robert Morss Lovett, vice chairman; Mrs. Victor L. Berger, vice chairman; and Margaret Forsyth, acting treasurer.

Dr. WATSON. I believe none of those four to be Communists.

Representative KEEFE. What was that answer?

Dr. WATSON. I believe none of those four to be Communists.

Representative KEEFE. That is a matter of opinion, I might say.

Dr. WATSON. It is a difficult thing to say, I will grant you that, but that is my belief.

Representative KEEFE. At least, Dr. Ward has been pretty definitely castigated, and his organization has been dissolved when the spotlight was turned on it. You know that.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. That is all I care to ask on this.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, were you present at this meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no participation whatever in it?

Dr. WATSON. None at all.

Representative GORE. I think it might be well to include in the record a list of endorsers of this meeting, of sponsors.

Representative KEEFE. It is a part of the file.

Representative GORE. All right. I might say that I notice the names of three Members of the House of Representatives, and one Member of the Senate, on that list as endorsers.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, you were born in Wisconsin, I believe?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Where in Wisconsin?

Dr. WATSON. At Whitewater.

Representative KEEFE. And you went to the Whitewater Normal School?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir. I think I share the honor of being a teachers college graduate with you.

Representative KEEFE. I guess I antedated you to some extent.

Dr. WATSON. I finished in 1916.

Representative KEEFE. I was 10 years ahead of you in that respect. Dr. Watson, after you finished at Whitewater State Teachers College, where did you go to school?

Dr. WATSON. I taught for 2 years.

Representative KEEFE. Where did you teach?

Dr. WATSON. First at Albion, Wis., where I was principal in the graduate school. Then at Randall Junior High School, where I was assistant principal, and then I went to the University of Wisconsin.

Representative KEEFE. What particular course did you take at the University of Wisconsin?

Dr. WATSON. I enlisted in the Students' Naval Training Corps in the fall of 1918, and served in the Navy until honorably discharged about Christmastime of that year. I then took up majoring in the department of physics.

Representative KEEFE. Under whom?

Dr. WATSON. Under Professor Snow. He was the head of the department. I worked, however, with Ingersoll and Mendenhall and Carey, in electrical engineering. I served as assistant in the physics department during my senior year.

Representative KEEFE. After you completed your work at the University of Wisconsin, where did you go?

Dr. WATSON. I took a pastorate at Pardeeville, Wis.

Representative KEEFE. Had you been ordained as a minister at that time?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. I was ordained a deacon in the fall of that year. I was licensed as a local preacher first, and then was ordained as a deacon, and then as an elder after I came to New York.

Representative KEEFE. How long did you preach at Pardeeville?

Dr. WATSON. About 4 months.

Representative KEEFE. And then where did you go?

Dr. WATSON. Then I went to the Washington Park Community Church in Denver as director of religious education.

Representative KEEFE. Do you recall some of your intimates and associates while you were at Pardeeville, Wis.?

Dr. WATSON. I am afraid I do not. There was a young pastor in the Presbyterian Church there who was my best friend at that time but I do not recall.

Representative KEEFE. That was in 1919, was it?

Dr. WATSON. That was in 1920.

Representative KEEFE. Do you recall who some of the people were in that church, some of the local people of Pardeeville, Wis.?

Dr. WATSON. No. I am afraid their names are gone now. I know a good many of the Methodist pastors in Wisconsin who were members of the conference with me, but I have been away for 23 years and have forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member of the subcommittee desire to propound any questions on the first charge?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I have no questions.

Representative POWERS. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The next charge covers exhibits 7 to 10, inclusive, from the Dies committee:

Photostats of an official program of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

On exhibit No. 9, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of a meeting held under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Tell us, briefly, what you know about this organization, and why you were a sponsor for it, and if you attended the meeting, anything you said there.

Dr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I was never a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and never attended any of its meetings. I agreed to join a list of sponsors for a citizens' rally in support of public education, held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 13, 1940, along with President Graham and other people who were well known to be non-Communists and interested genuinely in the cause of education.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Graham?

Dr. WATSON. President of the University of North Carolina. And Frank Kingdon, who was president of the University of Montana; and Frank Baker, who was——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But you say you were not present at that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir. I had no connection with it except that I joined a rather distinguished group of people who sponsored the meeting in support of public education.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any further explanation of it that you desire to make to this subcommittee?

Dr. WATSON. I believe not.

Representative KEEFE. Who invited you to sponsor that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember, Congressman Keefe.

Representative KEEFE. Do you recall how you came to be listed as a sponsor of that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. If you do not recall, just say so.

Dr. WATSON. I do not recall, but presume I received a letter——

Representative KEEFE (interposing). Let us not have any presumptions.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. If you do not know, I much prefer that you say so and not have any suppositions in our record.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. Did this American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom have an organized existence?

Dr. WATSON. The Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom had an organized existence, but the citizens' rally passed out of existence with that single meeting, as I understand.

Representative KEEFE. Were you familiar with the Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom?

Dr. WATSON. In a general way. I had never made any study of it.

Representative KEEFE. Did you contribute to its activities?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Did you receive its literature?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Were you familiar with the announced purpose of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. At the time you sponsored this rally?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. What, if anything, do you have about it in your files? Do you have any of that literature you refer to?

Dr. WATSON. I doubt it. I usually throw things like that into the wastebasket.

Representative KEEFE. Can you tell us now what the ostensible purpose of this organization was, what its announced policy was as found in that literature?

Dr. WATSON. I think it was an organization to defend any attacks on academic freedom; to defend in education, I will say, academic freedom against attacks from intolerant sources.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know who its officers were?

Dr. WATSON. Prof. Franz Boaz, I think, was the chairman.

Representative POWERS. Was he a known Communist?

Dr. WATSON. No; he was not, but I had my suspicions after a while that he might be a "fellow traveler."

Representative KEEFE. Who were the officers of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. If I understand the situation it may be summed up in this way—and you will correct me if I am in error: There was an organization known as the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, of which Prof. Franz Boaz was national chairman; is that right?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. But you do not know who the other officers of that organization were?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And this American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom sponsored a citizens' rally to answer any attacks on public education, a rally to be held at Carnegie Hall April 13, 1940?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you were invited to be one of the sponsors of that rally?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. At that time you were teaching where?

Dr. WATSON. At the Teachers College in Columbia University.

Representative KEEFE. And where was Prof. Franz Boaz teaching at that time?

Dr. WATSON. In the department of anthropology, Columbia University.

Representative KEEFE. But you are not able to tell us who invited you to become a sponsor for that rally?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. You have no record in your files to indicate what the actually announced purpose of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know that I have.

Representative KEEFE. You consented to the use of your name in sponsoring this rally, and permitted it to go to the public as a sponsor?

Dr. WATSON. I did.

Representative KEEFE. Without knowledge as to what was to be said or done at that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I knew its general purpose; yes.

Representative KEEFE. You did not attend the meeting, did you?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You do not know what Prof. Franz Boaz may have said as one of the speakers, do you?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not.

Representative KEEFE. And therefore you do not know and cannot say whether you approve or disapprove of what may have taken place at that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know, but there was never any report of it that indicated anything that would raise a question.

Representative KEEFE. When did you become convinced that Prof. Franz Boaz was a "fellow traveler"?

Dr. WATSON. Well, as to saying I "became convinced," I do not know about that, but my suspicions began to be aroused because of the types of appeal and the persons associated with him in those appeals.

Representative KEEFE. You as an American came to the conclusion that a professor who would affiliate with and associate with a lot of organizations and meetings which were of questionable character, was perhaps becoming a "fellow traveler"?

Dr. WATSON. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. And you used that yardstick yourself in judging Prof. Franz Boaz at that time, did you?

Dr. WATSON. I did.

Representative KEEFE. You, of course, would not be critical of this subcommittee if the same yardstick were applied in judging yourself, would you?

Dr. WATSON. I would want to be sure it was the same yardstick.

Representative KEEFE. You would want to be sure that it was the same yardstick?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know who Ralph Hitzell was or is?

Dr. WATSON. He was, and I think still is, the editor of the C. I. O. News.

Representative GORE. And an attorney also, is he not?

Dr. WATSON. I think he is.

Representative GORE. Attorney for the C. I. O.

Dr. WATSON. I do not know about that.

Representative GORE. I know the gentleman, and think he is attorney for the C. I. O. in addition to being connected with their paper.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know Prof. Walter Rautenstauch?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did he have leftist leanings too?

Dr. WATSON. I think I would have to make the same report on him that I made on Prof. Franz Boaz.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know Rev. H. Norman Sibley?

Dr. WATSON. Slightly.

Representative KEEFE. Did he have the same leanings?

Dr. WATSON. No; I think not.

Representative KEEFE. But you did not know him very well?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know Dean Ned H. Dearborn?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. He was vice president of the American Federation of Teachers?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did he have leftist leanings?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. So at least so far as this particular sponsorship is concerned you sponsored the meeting without knowledge as to what was to be done or accomplished at the meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I knew the general purpose of the meeting, and I had confidence in the list of names of the people who, as told to me, were persons associated with it.

Representative KEEFE. You knew Prof. Franz Boaz, and Prof. Walter Rautenstruch and these other people who were to speak at that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. Either my letter of invitation stated or I otherwise understood—well, I do not know whether it did or not.

Representative KEEFE. Did you see this sponsorship program referred to in exhibits 7 to 10?

Dr. WATSON. No. I am sure I did not see it at the time I was invited.

Representative KEEFE. Did you see it at any time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I have seen it, here now.

Representative KEEFE. Did you see it after the meeting at any time?

Dr. WATSON. After the meeting?

Representative KEEFE. Yes; immediately after the meeting, I will say.

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Are you now convinced that the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was a Communist front organization?

Dr. WATSON. No. I do not have evidence to convince me either way. I should have to remain in doubt on that point.

Representative KEEFE. But you would say there were many people associated with it who were fellow travelers?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And that the president or chairman of it was, in your opinion, a fellow traveler?

Dr. WATSON. He is so considered now, I believe, but I do not know at what time I came to that conclusion. Presumably it was not at the time I agreed to sponsor it.

Representative KEEFE. All right. That is all I have to ask.

Representative POWERS. Dr. Watson, from Chairman Dies' letter to the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, dated November 18, 1941, I will quote the following statement:

Over a period of years, Goodwin Watson wrote numerous articles in praise of the Soviet way of life. At the conclusion of one of those articles he expressed his liking for the "socialism of Russia" in the following manner: "I wish I knew whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I would know where I want to live."

Did you make that statement?

Dr. WATSON. That was a quotation from Anna Louise Strong, and should have been reported obviously as a quotation and not as my sentence.

Representative KEEFE. Could anyone at that time have considered that to be your sentiment?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; one could make that construction, but if so it would be a false construction.

Representative KEEFE. Was that your sentiment at that time?

Dr. WATSON. It was not.

Representative KEEFE. Has it ever been your sentiment?

Dr. WATSON. No; it has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the paragraph referred to appear in one of your books?

Dr. WATSON. That occurs at the end of an article describing a trip through the Soviet Union, and quoting this as perhaps the most striking thing said to us by a speaker we heard there.

Representative POWERS. Was she there, and what was her name?

Dr. WATSON. Anna Louise Strong.

Representative POWERS. Was she a Communist?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, I believe you have stated how many books you have written.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those books to be found in the Library of Congress?

Dr. WATSON. I presume so. I have not checked up on that. But, again, the statement as read is false in that it suggests that numerous writings have been in praise of the Soviet Union. I have written only 3 out of 200 articles which dealt with the Soviet, and those were written on a frozen-form basis, those that seemed good and those that seemed bad.

That appeared in the Social Frontier in February 1937, did it not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Doctor, the article appears in the Social Frontier of February 1937, at page 143, and the last paragraph of the article, just ahead of your name, reads as follows:

One question lingered in our minds. Anna Louise Strong had stated it for us. "I wish I knew," she said, "whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I want to live."

By that paragraph you surely left the impression with your readers that the question was in your mind in exactly the same form and in exactly the same degree as it was in the mind of Anna Louise Strong, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. If I did, it was unfortunate writing. I did not intend to.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It is a plain statement.

Dr. WATSON. Anna Louise Strong stated it before our group. She made a special speech to our group. I think your interpretation is the one that would ordinarily be made, but it is not the one that I had in mind in writing it. It was a punch line that I put in at the

end of the article, because it impressed us more than any other statement that had been made. It stood in some contrast. I believe the preceding paragraph brought out the fact that we had been in a stinking Black Sea boat under most uncomfortable conditions, and over against that it set out the attitude which she represented. I did not express myself there as clearly as I have in numerous other writings.

Representative KEEFE. May I at this point place in the record the paragraph which appears immediately preceding that quoted by Mr. Anderson, which will throw some light, I think, upon the doctor's statement; and I quote from the article appearing on page 143 in the Social Frontier for February 1937, volume 3, No. 23:

For each of us there were sights which we approved and others we disapproved. But how about the balance of judgment on the new civilization as a whole? One became skeptical and remained rather unfavorable toward Soviet life. A half dozen who came prepared to find a bad situation had been transferred into warm admirers of the Communist scene. None who came with great expectations had been disappointed. The sum total would be more than 95 percent favorably influenced by this brief study. We had not always been comfortable but we had been aware of a society directed toward the sustenance of human value. One question lingered in our minds. Anna Louise Strong had stated it for us—

And then there is quoted the statement placed in the record by the gentleman from New Mexico, Mr. Anderson.

Now, Doctor, no sensible person could read that without coming to the conclusion that there was a summation of the attitude of this group arrived at as result of your intimate experiences on this trip to Russia and your observations of the Soviet regime and Soviet life and that you accepted the statement made by Anna Louise Strong as being the consensus of opinion of all of you who went over there. Is not that a fair deduction?

Dr. WATSON. I think it is in general fair, Congressman. I do not think that was the consensus of opinion of the group. The paragraph that you read was a summary of the group consensus. This quotation is put in as a punch line.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you think the article is a fair statement of the consensus of the group?

Dr. WATSON. The article as a whole?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Those two paragraphs just read. You would not have misrepresented their attitude, would you?

Dr. WATSON. No; the paragraph preceding the last one, at any rate, was the result of a statistical poll of the group taken on this Black Sea boat.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And one member was the only one who had not been enthusiastic?

Dr. WATSON. No; I am sorry. I do not think that was the case.

Representative GORE. It says one became skeptical. I do not know whether that means one individual or not.

Dr. WATSON. One person who came with high expectations became skeptical.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That was not yourself, though?

Dr. WATSON. No; I did not come with particularly high expectations, because I had been there before.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then the generalizations in that paragraph refer to the rest of the group which included yourself?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It is clearly a conclusion expressed.

Dr. WATSON. It is no different from Mr. Willkie's conclusion, I would say.

Representative KEEFE. You have never in any writing in this magazine, since this matter has been brought to your attention, qualified that statement in any way or denied it?

Dr. WATSON. This was no longer in existence when it was brought to my attention.

Representative POWERS. You say that it represents no different opinion than Mr. Willkie's opinion?

Dr. WATSON. I think my conclusion was no different, as far as I know.

Representative POWERS. I thought you were speaking of the article and Anna Louise Strong's quotation.

Dr. WATSON. Oh, no; Congressman.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I see these other articles that you have written?

Dr. WATSON. I have this one (handing a document to Representative Anderson). The others I do not have—on Soviet education.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else with reference to the subject matter discussed in that article which you would like to put into the record?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. It will go in, without objection.

Dr. WATSON. This [indicating] was a statement refusing to sign a document circulated by the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Representative KEEFE. What statement are you referring to?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a short statement?

Dr. WATSON. It is a short statement; yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you just read it.

Dr. WATSON [reading]:

Those who signed the statement surely knew that universal suffrage in the Soviet Union does not mean what that phrase means here; that while "those writers and thinkers whose books have been burned by the Nazis are published in the Soviet Union," there are many other writers and thinkers whose works are not allowed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is still customary (no pun) to take away from incoming travelers any stray copies of such dangerous sheets as the New York Times or the London Times. It is well known that official party sanction is given from time to time to one line of scientific theory or artistic creation, while others are condemned on political grounds and their exponents subjected to humiliation, demotion, and exile. It is difficult to defend the Soviet's drastic methods of dealing with dissenters, on grounds of "democracy and peace."

Another statement, in 1940:

Antidemocratic methods and goals in any factions notably, but not exclusively, among Communists, should be repudiated.

Another statement:

It has always seemed to that one of the more costly aspects of the great social experiments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been the tendency to put a new policy into operation among 180,000,000 people at once. This, as has so often been the experience, reveals mistakes. The pendulum swings in another direction. Old policies are liquidated over the entire population, new ones inaugurated again on a vast scale. Tendencies toward great concentration of power in the state are likely to be much more complete and more perilous, therefore, than the concentrations of power in other social agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the occasion of the hearing in the Senate that you referred to?

Dr. WATSON. The occasion of the hearing in the Senate was that a motion had been made to add to an appropriation bill for the F. C. C. a clause excluding the possibility of my appointment.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was it a question of continued employment?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You were on the pay roll at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you holding the same position then that you hold now?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Before what committee were you called?

Dr. WATSON. A subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations. Their report was favorable, I might add.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us the result of that investigation?

Dr. WATSON. The report was favorable to me.

Representative POWERS. What is your salary?

Dr. WATSON. \$6,500.

Representative POWERS. How long have you been here?

Dr. WATSON. A year and a half.

Representative POWERS. What salary did you receive when you came into the Government employ?

Dr. WATSON. Before?

Representative POWERS. No; when you came in.

Dr. WATSON. \$5,600.

Representative POWERS. And you have been raised to \$6,500?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative POWERS. Immediately preceding the time you came into Government employ what was your salary?

Dr. WATSON. \$7,000.

Representative POWERS. And who employed you and what was the nature of your duties at that time?

Dr. WATSON. I was employed by the Director of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service acting under the Federal Communications Commission.

Representative POWERS. That was really a Government position?

Dr. WATSON. Yes—you mean, before I came in?

Representative POWERS. Yes.

Dr. WATSON. Oh. I am sorry. I was professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Representative POWERS. That was your salary in 1940?

Dr. WATSON. From 1938, I think, to 1941.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you trying to tell us that your salary at Columbia University was \$7,000?

Dr. WATSON. That is right. I came here at a substantial financial sacrifice, because I was persuaded that there was a job I could do.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In your article on the Soviet Union you refer to a book written by Sydney and Beatrice Webb. Had you read the book?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you like it?

Dr. WATSON. It was most comprehensive, but I would not call it an unbiased book.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was quite favorable to the Soviet Union?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In that article you say:

Happily the Webbs have written two volumes which give a more complete understanding of how things are done in the Soviet Union than a student could acquire in a year's residence and investigation. Anyone who will purchase and read these books and save time and trouble—

and so forth.

The use of the word "happily" signifies that you were not too disappointed that they had written these books?

Dr. WATSON. I think they are a very important two volumes, the most detailed study at that time; and they are very distinguished social scientists.

Representative POWERS. Would you class them as "fellow travelers"?

Dr. WATSON. They have been enthusiasts for the Fabian Society and the Soviet Union. I do not know the extent to which they follow the Communist line.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They would come closer within the definition of "fellow travelers" than even Boaz, would they not?

Dr. WATSON. I don't know. The way in which the name of Boaz has been used in various organizations—I do not know whether it is true of the Webbs or not.

Representative KEEFE. You have not stated to us the names of the people who made this trip. Who were they?

Dr. WATSON. They were a group of about 30 teachers from various schools, and some social workers.

Representative KEEFE. Do you have a list of them?

Dr. WATSON. Not with me, but I have a list.

Representative KEEFE. Who arranged the trip?

Dr. WATSON. It was arranged by the Open Road.

Representative KEEFE. What is the Open Road?

Dr. WATSON. That is a study travel organization.

Representative KEEFE. How many trips did you make to the Soviet Union?

Dr. WATSON. Three.

Representative KEEFE. Were you with study groups each time?

Dr. WATSON. No. The first I made was on my own. That was in 1931.

Representative KEEFE. How long a time did you spend in the Soviet Union at that time?

Dr. WATSON. One month.

Representative KEEFE. And you were alone?

Dr. WATSON. I was with Professor Elliott, of Union Theological Seminary.

Representative KEEFE. When was your next visit to the Soviet Union?

Dr. WATSON. In 1936.

Representative KEEFE. Were you alone at that time?

Dr. WATSON. No. I was conducting a group traveling in 10 countries of Europe.

Representative KEEFE. Who was in this group?

Dr. WATSON. That is the group to which we referred.

Representative KEEFE. When was your last visit there?

Dr. WATSON. In 1938.

Representative KEEFE. Under whose auspices did you go at that time?

Dr. WATSON. The Open Road.

Representative KEEFE. Another group went?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; another group of the Open Road visiting 10 countries of Europe; not the same.

Representative KEEFE. With reference to the personally conducted group to which reference has been made in the Social Frontier, who selected that group to go?

Dr. WATSON. They selected themselves by joining the party. It was generally advertised and people answered the advertisement.

Representative KEEFE. Did you advertise it?

Dr. WATSON. The Open Road advertised it.

Representative KEEFE. But you were the leader of the group?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Were you received by the governmental authorities in Russia?

Dr. WATSON. No; except as Intourist makes all the arrangements for incoming travelers.

Representative KEEFE. How long did you spend there at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Three weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Were both of your trips taken through this travel association?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a corporation, was it not, operating throughout the whole world?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. It was a nonprofit corporation, an educational agency conducting trips to various countries of the world.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The chairman's question was, Was it operating in all countries of the world? That is not comparable to Thomas Cook & Son or Raymond-Whitcomb or any of those companies?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It is a select group in New York City, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who is the motivating influence behind it?

Dr. WATSON. John Rothschild is the director. I do not know that there is any motivating influence behind it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It is not a commercial travel association, is it?

Dr. WATSON. No; it is an educational organization. They ran summer work camps for Teachers College.

Representative POWERS. How were those trips financed?

Dr. WATSON. The first trip I financed myself on the basis of a fellowship from Teachers College for a year's study in Europe, most of which I spent in Germany and 1 month of which I spent in Russia. The second and third trips were financed by the payments of the individuals who went on the trips.

Representative POWERS. And your expenses were paid as the leader of the group?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. And you received further remuneration as leader of the group?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I think the first time there was no further remuneration, and the second time there was an additional honorarium.

Representative POWERS. Suppose we insert at this point in the record the names and addresses of the people taking these trips with you, the trips of which you were the leader.

The CHAIRMAN. You can furnish us that information, can you not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I think so. It would require some research at Warwick, N. Y., where my farm home is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the best you can, will you, please?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Without undue expense and travel.

(The list of names and addresses of people accompanying Dr. Watson on the trips referred to will, when furnished by the witness, be inserted in the record.)

Representative GORE. You were interrogated by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, or by the senior Senator from Tennessee, regarding one sentence or, rather, a portion of a sentence, and I have been unable to find the whole sentence. The portion of the sentence upon which you were interrogated reads as follows:

* * * it would be necessary to operate all kinds of production as public services and to deprive individual owners of the right of control.

Do you remember the interrogation upon that sentence?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative GORE. You took some exception to taking a part of the sentence. I am unable to find the full sentence.

Dr. WATSON. It is on page 95 of that same document, Congressman. You will find that this was taken from an illustration. It is at the very top of page 95 [reading]:

Before the assembled faculty and students of an Oklahoma teachers college the speaker had given his vision of the new order that might be created. * * * The president of the institution * * * found the vision attractive, but

rebelled instantly when it dawned upon him that in order to convert these possibilities into actualities it would be necessary to operate all kinds of production as public services and to deprive individual owners of the right of control. "That is Red Communism," he proclaimed, "and that means the stifling of all initiative and the end of progress."

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you mean that somebody picked up that part of the sentence and read it and attributed it to you?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative GORE. He was interrogated upon that part of the sentence.

Representative KEEFE. May I call further attention to the fact that in this same article which was placed in the Senate hearings by Dr. Watson, after reciting this incident of the speaker before the assembled faculty and students of an Oklahoma teachers college who had given his vision of the new order that might be created, this appears:

As a matter of fact, the present capitalist society, far from stimulating a desirable kind of initiative, is itself stifling some of the best creative potentialities of youth. There are several millions of young people today, each of them with his particular kind of talent and capacity to serve his fellowmen—graduates of our high schools and colleges—who have never been able to get any kind of job, let alone one suited to their ambition and training.

It is not our purpose merely to show the defects of the old order. The builders of a new world will not be content with destructive criticism of what has been. They will be called upon to give constructive alternatives.

And so on.

You made that statement in answer to the allegation of this individual who said, "This is Red Communism"?

Dr. WATSON. No; in answer to the problem, What is to be done about initiative? And the five suggestions which follow what you read point to the development of more institutes for research such as industry has developed, scholarships for able young people, and so on. It was an attempt to conserve initiative in a situation that seemed very damaging.

Representative GORE. I think the record ought to show the five points which immediately follow. A five-point program is suggested as follows:

1. Give to every worker opportunity and encouragement to think out and to try out improved ways of doing his work.
2. Produce (through education) valuable innovators—youths who know when and how to introduce better ways of living.
3. Select * * * that 1 percent of the population best able to carry on research and see that no economic limitations or worries prevent their receiving the best training that school and industry and community life in cooperation can give.
4. Provide * * * institutes equipped so that all the materials and help needed are available. * * * In America today there are more than 1,000 industrial research laboratories with 30,000 professional employees and a daily expenditure of \$500,000.
5. The highest honors in the family, school, village, shop, and Nation must be bestowed upon those whose efforts bring socially significant progress.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that complete the record as you would like to have it completed? Is there anything else that you want to put in there?

Representative KEEFE. It might be advisable, in view of the fact that we have directed some question ng to Dr. Watson, in order to

have this matter chronologically correct in the record with reference to this trip to Europe where they visited the capitals of Europe and also visited the Soviet Union, to call attention to the report published in Social Frontier in October 1938 entitled "Six Capitals", which was placed in the Senate hearings by Dr. Watson himself. I call attention to this statement which appears on page 95 of the Senate hearings in which he describes Vienna. I will quote from it:

The Socialists, one-time leaders of the city, have now been killed, driven into exile, or are hopelessly beaten in spirit.

What a stirring new deal they had once begun. Roosevelt must go far before he achieves a program like theirs. The Austrian socialists actually did the things F. D. R. makes speeches about.

They provided real social security, built cooperative houses, set up health insurance, and enriched life generally for the forgotten man. * * * They wanted to avoid bloodshed, even to the last, when they were disarmed by ruthless reactionaries and shot down in the 5-day battle in the Vienna streets. * * * All gone now * * * cowed, disillusioned, sunk beyond hope of despair, living only for the wearying routine of day-by-day existence in miserable poverty.

You wrote that as your observation of Socialist Vienna?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Were you referring to the regime of Karl Seitz?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Actually you did visit some of those cooperative dwellings, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They were regarded as models, were they, of fine dwellings?

Dr. WATSON. They were.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. At what period did you visit them?

Dr. WATSON. I visited them, first, in 1932, again in 1933, again in 1936, and again in 1938.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You visited after the fall of the regime of Karl Seitz?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was it or was it not your observation that Karl Seitz was rather friendly to the American Government?

Dr. WATSON. He was very friendly to the American Government.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Probably this is a technical question on history, but do you recall that the proclamation of President Hoover in 1931 was announced by Karl Seitz at a great banquet in Vienna? Do you recall the moratorium announcement, when Karl Seitz, of all the rulers in Europe, praised that more highly than any other single individual? I was present at the occasion when the Mayor of Vienna read the announcement of President Hoover of a moratorium and praised the leadership of the American Government and the courage of President Hoover, and I attended the following banquet at which he again referred in glowing terms to the liberal attitude of the American Government toward the peoples of Europe as contrasted with the banking policies of the British Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, we will go to the fourth charge made by the Dies committee against you. That is accompanied by exhibit 12, photostat of an advertisement of the American Investors Union, Inc., which appeared in the New Republic of December 27, 1939. On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of the American Investors Union, Inc.

All of the persons whose names appear on this exhibit as sponsors or as members of the board of directors have substantial records as fellow travelers with Communist front organizations.

Dr. WATSON. May I say that I have not seen that document, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a photostatic copy [handing a document to the witness].

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Can you read the names?

Dr. WATSON. I see the name of Evans Clark of the Twentieth Century Fund, who is certainly not a communist or a fellow traveler.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, tell us what you know about this organization.

Dr. WATSON. The American Investors Union was a development of the Consumers Union. I was on the board of Consumers Union. Some of the members of the board were very much interested in supporting an organization which would advise investors, small investors. The general thesis was that baby bonds were a much better investment than stocks and other advertised securities into which many small investors were putting their money. The organization was launched. I was not a member or connected with it beyond that initial sponsorship. I thought it was a good idea. I think the people who joined with me in sponsoring it were found to be persons like myself, non-Communists, but interested in social welfare in one way or another. I was never active with respect to this organization.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You mentioned the Consumers Union. Is that any kin to the Consumers Research?

Dr. WATSON. It is the same kind of an organization.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Dr. Matthews, of the Committee on Un-American Activities, was the head man in Consumers Research, was he not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; he was.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he in Consumers Union?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir; he was not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he in the American Investors Union?

Dr. WATSON. He was not. The Consumers Union was a rival of his organization.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then they did not get all the Communists into this?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know any Communists who were affiliated with the American Investors Union. I am not saying there were not any, but I do not know any who were.

Representative POWERS. How in the world did you ever have time to become affiliated with all these things? You were affiliated with more organizations, apparently, than Carter had pills.

Dr. WATSON. In my statement, Mr. Congressman, I listed the thirty-odd organizations with which I actually maintained any contact,

and they are almost exclusively professional and scientific organizations.

Representative POWERS. But you had affiliations with very many more.

Dr. WATSON. A professor interested in current events has, I should suppose, ten or a dozen organizations a day asking him to join this or sponsor that, to do this or engage in that. I have tried rather conscientiously to sort through those and lend what little weight I could where I thought the cause was a good one. As I have testified, my actual contact with most of these things has been negligible, necessarily so.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, were you ever a member of the Masonic organization?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Junior Order of American Mechanics?

Dr. WATSON. No. My father and brother are Masons. I was away from home at the time that my brother went in, and I did not join.

Representative KEEFE. Were you questioned with reference to this matter of the Consumers Union before the subcommittee of the Dies committee?

Dr. WATSON. No. I think, Mr. Chairman, that J. B. Matthews may have had some scruples about inquiring about an organization that was a rival of the one which he had directed. That was my interpretation. I do not know. It may have been that he decided it was not a subversive agency.

The CHAIRMAN. I will call your attention to charge 5 made by the Dies committee. That is accompanied by a photostat of an official document issued by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as an endorser of a gathering held under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In the confidential memoranda of the Interdepartmental Committee the American League for Peace and Democracy was described as a subversive organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities has likewise found that the American League for Peace and Democracy was a Communist-front organization.

What information do you have with reference to this charge? Tell us what you know about it; what you did, if you had anything to do with it, and what you said or what connections you had with such organization. Do you remember?

Dr. WATSON. This is in our record, Judge Kerr. I discussed it earlier under questions by Congressman Keefe. I never had any contacts with the American League except to endorse its congress held in Washington; and we have already entered in the record the names of persons associated with it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was referred to, I think, under charges 2 and 3.

Representative KEEFE. May I ask this further question? This was not in the other file in connection with exhibit 13, which appears to be included in the file relating to un-American activities. I call your attention to the call which was issued, summoning representatives

of different organizations of the American people—trade-unions, farm bodies, fraternal orders, civic bodies, organizations of veterans, women, and youth—to attend this congress, saying that—

at this congress the democratic peace forces of America will move toward a program for the continuance of democracy and peace, a program based on the necessity to protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people, to keep the United States out of war, and help keep war out of the world.

That is the call which you signed for this meeting of the congress, under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. At that time were you in favor of keeping the United States out of war?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. What was the date of the meeting; do you recall?

Dr. WATSON. I think it was in 1938. Is that correct?

Representative KEEFE. You at that time believed that the United States could be kept out of the European war?

Dr. WATSON. The European war had not begun.

Representative KEEFE. You saw signs of it coming?

Dr. WATSON. I hoped we could prevent it; yes.

Representative KEEFE. Were you pacifist-minded at that time?

Dr. WATSON. No; but I think war is a terrible last resort.

Representative KEEFE. How long did you maintain that attitude?

Dr. WATSON. Until the summer of 1940.

Representative KEEFE. What prompted you to change?

Dr. WATSON. Hitler's growing power; the invasion of helpless countries; the recognition that there seemed to be nothing except a need to stop him, and no way to stop him except by participating.

Representative KEEFE. Did you advocate that the United States become an active participant then?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Have you any writings indicating that?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did you believe that the war which had started after this time was an imperialistic war?

Dr. WATSON. No; although there are elements of imperialism in most all industrial countries concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you state that you did not participate in this congress?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And all you did was to sign your name as a sponsor for this meeting?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The sixth charge against you made by the Dies committee embraces exhibits 14, 15, 16, and 17, photostats of an official leaflet of the American Student Union. It seems that all of these exhibits are part of this magazine or paper.

On exhibit 17 the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union. In its report to the House of Representatives, in January 1940, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the American Student Union to be a Communist front organization. Furthermore, Joseph P. Lash,

who was executive secretary of the American Student Union during the period of Goodwin Watson's affiliation with the organization, has since appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and testified under oath that the American Student Union was under the complete control of the Communists.

What have you got to say with reference to that charge against you?

Dr. WATSON. I was asked to serve as a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union.

Representative Powers. By whom?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know by whom—at the time it was organized.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it organized?

Dr. WATSON. In 1937, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it organized?

Dr. WATSON. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Who organized it? Who was the outstanding person who organized it, as you remember?

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, then.

Dr. WATSON. The other names of the advisory committee include no persons who are believed by me to be Communists or Fellow Travelers. They include such names as Quincy Howe, a news commentator; Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies' Garment Makers' Union; Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President; Mary Fox, of the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy. As I understood the American Student Union at that time, it was to be an organization in which all student groups interested in current affairs could come together for discussion and organized work.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this union have a constitution and by-laws?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the substance of the constitution as it discloses the purposes of the union, and the by-laws with reference to its administration and conduct?

Dr. WATSON. No; I cannot give that from memory, but I am very sure that this was the purpose of the organization at the time when I agreed to sponsor it—to promote within the campuses of the country a discussion of current problems, to include all shades of political opinion, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any activities with respect to this organization except to sponsor this meeting?

Dr. WATSON. I never had any further contact with the organization, except this initial sponsorship at the time when it was launched. I believed what I heard about it, but agree with the conclusion of the committee that it did eventually come under Communist domination. I am sure it was not so at the time of its launching.

Representative Powers. At the time of its launching was not Joseph P. Lash executive secretary, who was one of the controlling parties in the Student Union?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know; but Joseph Lash was for a long time a recognized legitimate student leader. Whatever connections he may have developed with the Communists appeared at a later period. I am not sure that he was not thrown out by the Communists; I rather think he was.

Representative POWERS. Joseph P. Lash appeared as a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities and stated that the American Student Union was under the effective control of the Communists from its inception until the time he testified. And you were sponsoring this organization at the time of its inception, were you not?

Dr. WATSON. That is right. But I think he was mistaken, because the advisory board is composed of some of the most bitter Communist-haters in the United States.

Representative KEEFE. Doctor, let us be fair—and I want to be fair in this matter. The fact of the matter is that you accepted sponsorship on an invitation of someone whom you cannot now designate?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. That sponsorship was intended to use your name in order to set this organization into action throughout the country?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You were a recognized educator?

Dr. WATSON. Right.

Representative KEEFE. And, in your field, recognized throughout the country. You say you had nothing more to do with it?

Dr. WATSON. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. And that your name was used throughout the country to enable this organization to get going?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And it continued to function and did function throughout the country, using your name?

Dr. WATSON. Not after the initial document.

Representative KEEFE. But the initial document may have been in existence and continued to be referred to. That is true, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. It is possible.

Representative KEEFE. Did you at any time denounce this organization when you concluded that it was taken over by the Communists and the fellow travelers?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir. I had forgotten that I ever had any connection with it. They had never come to me for any purpose. I agreed to be an adviser if they came to me. I did not know my name had been included.

Representative KEEFE. You do know, do you not, that it was part of the technique of the Communist group in this country, when they decided upon their front plan of organization, to establish a group of innumerable organizations under high-sounding titles and with programs that would appeal to the unsuspecting, when, as a matter of fact, they were using that organization to further their purposes. You agree with that, do you not?

Dr. WATSON. I do.

Representative KEEFE. And that that was the purpose of such front organizations?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Without going into any study to determine the purpose of this organization, other than merely the express purpose I have indicated, somebody whom you did not know asked you

as a well-known professor and teacher throughout the country to sponsor such an organization, and you allowed them to use your name, and they did use it and publicize it as a sponsor of such an organization?

Dr. WATSON. An adviser, in this case.

Representative KEEFE. To give it some air of respectability, perhaps?

Dr. WATSON. Possibly.

Representative KEEFE. And you never made any investigation to see what the real purpose was behind this organization?

Dr. WATSON. Oh, yes; I did. But my investigation convinced me that this was a genuine liberal student organization and that there was no problem of Communist control.

Representative KEEFE. Have you never attended any of its meetings?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. You never listened to any of the speeches made at any of these meetings?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. You did not know what they were actually doing, then?

Dr. WATSON. Except an occasional press report which led me eventually to believe that it had come under Communist control.

Representative KEEFE. Did you withdraw your sponsorship?

Dr. WATSON. No; because I had forgotten I ever gave any.

Representative KEEFE. When you concluded that that was an organization that was under Communist control, and one that you had sponsored, you did not go into the newspapers and denounce it at all?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the first time you heard of this organization before giving your name as a member of the advisory board?

Dr. WATSON. When Mr. Starnes showed me the charges of the Dies committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you say you sponsored this organization?

Dr. WATSON. It was at the time it was organized. I think it was in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever sponsored anything about it since then?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had any relationship or any connection with it whatever since then?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about this photostatic copy of a leaflet? Did you know anything about it before it was brought to your attention by the Dies committee?

Dr. WATSON. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Had anybody ever asked you anything about it?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir; no one had ever asked me anything about it nor come to me for any advice or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made no expressions about it at all?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir; neither in sympathy nor in opposition.

Representative POWERS. I want to get this straight in my own mind. You sponsored this American Student Union in 1935?

Dr. WATSON. I agreed to be an adviser for it. I think that is an important distinction, because it seems to me legitimate to be an adviser for an organization.

Representative POWERS. You were an adviser of this organization in 1935?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. When did it occur to you that it had come under the domination and influence of communism?

Dr. WATSON. When it followed the Communist Party line in their war attitude in 1940 or thereabouts.

Representative POWERS. And then you definitely decided it was coming under communistic control?

Dr. WATSON. That is correct.

Representative POWERS. I understood you to testify in answer to Mr. Keefe's question that when you found it was under communistic control you never publicly repudiated your membership on the advisory board?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative POWERS. Just let it go at that?

Dr. WATSON. I did not know that I was on the advisory board. I thought of myself as having no connection with the American Student Union. I had not seen this document. I have no doubt that I was served with a copy at the time. I remember the request, now that it is brought up; but I have not associated myself with the organization in any way.

Representative POWERS. And you still do not recall who asked you to become a member of the advisory board?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. Did you not testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities less than a week ago that you did recall who asked you to become a member of the advisory board?

Dr. WATSON. I think not.

Representative POWERS. Then one of us is wrong.

Dr. WATSON. May I ask what the testimony is that you refer to?

Representative POWERS. Testimony that you gave before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Dr. WATSON. Yes; but on this point?

Representative POWERS. The question that I asked was whether you had any recollection of who asked you to become a member of the advisory board.

Dr. WATSON. What is the testimony that seems to be in contradiction of my present testimony?

Representative POWERS. You answered my question, as I remember it, that it was a party of students of New College which was associated with Teachers College at the time you were on the teaching staff.

Dr. WATSON. A committee of students came to see me to explain the organization. I do not think they were authorized to offer me a position on the advisory board. I presume there was a letter from somebody, but I do not remember what it was.

Representative POWERS. All right, sir. Where is New College, and what is it?

Dr. WATSON. New College was a part of Teachers College, of Columbia University, organized for the training of undergraduate teachers and students. Teachers College as such was composed of graduate students. The undergraduate department was called New College.

Representative POWERS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12 m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The special subcommittee resumed its hearing at 2 p. m. in the Capitol, pursuant to recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will resume.

TESTIMONY OF DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON, CHIEF OF THE ANALYSIS DIVISION, FOREIGN BROADCAST INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, the seventh charge made against you by the Dies committee is as follows:

Photostat of page 1 of the Daily Worker of January 15, 1936.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the supporters of the American Youth Congress' bill, which was known as the American Youth Act.

Both the Interdepartmental Committee and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities have found that the American Youth Congress was a Communist-front organization.

In other words, you are charged with being a supporter of the American Youth Congress. Do you wish to make a statement about that?

Dr. Watson. I was not a supporter of the American Youth Congress. I did support the American Youth bill, which was one of the precursors of the N. Y. A. bill, to provide an opportunity for employment and education for young people between 16 and 25, which was supported by six Members of Congress and a large number of distinguished persons from all political groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the history of that bill, what became of it?

Dr. WATSON. It was introduced in Congress. It was supported by Jerry Voorhis of California, Byron N. Scott, of California, Matthew Dunn, of Pennsylvania, and others. I know these names were back of the bill. The bill was never passed. I do not think there was anything subversive about the bill or the supporters of it.

The CHAIRMAN. A copy of the bill is available, I take it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name appears on a copy of the Daily Worker, which is alleged to indicate that you were a supporter of the American Youth Congress. Would you like to look at it?

Dr. WATSON. I believe it does not say I was a supporter of the congress, but says I supported this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the supporters of the American Youth Congress bill.

Dr. WATSON. Yes; a supporter of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Which was to be known as the American Youth Act.

Dr. WATSON. That is right, an act of the Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire to make any explanation or to give any reason why you supported this bill?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir. It was a bill to provide opportunities for education and employment of young people, which I thought very necessary. I supported any measure at that time that looked like an opportunity for the young.

Representative POWERS. Were you ever a member of the American Youth Congress?

Dr. WATSON. No; I was not.

Representative POWERS. Were you a sponsor of the American Youth Congress?

Dr. WATSON. No; I was not.

Representative POWERS. Did you ever contribute to the American Youth Congress in any way, either financially or by any writings?

Dr. WATSON. By no articles, and not financially, so far as I know. I led a discussion for some convention or something of that sort.

Representative POWERS. Sponsored by the American Youth Congress?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative POWERS. Was that the outfit that Joseph Lash was the head of?

Dr. WATSON. No. That was the outfit that David Hinkle was secretary of.

Representative POWERS. Was Lash active with the American Youth Congress?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know, but I think probably he was one of the representatives from his organization, the American Student Union. The American Youth Congress tried to bring together people from American youth organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A., which was in it at the early days and then they gradually dropped out as the Communist control increased.

Representative KEEFE. But the American Youth Congress sponsored this bill?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you supported the bill?

Dr. WATSON. I supported the bill.

Representative KEEFE. Did I understand you to say that that afterward resulted in the formation of the N. Y. A.?

Dr. WATSON. I said it was one of the preliminary steps in the direction of a bill that eventually took the form of N. Y. A.—or, I will put it this way: The N. Y. A. was a later and more successful effort to deal with the same problem which this bill initially tried to deal with.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. This issue of the Daily Worker is January 15, 1936, in which it says, "Congress gets the American Youth bill." The National Youth Administration was and had been for many months in operation by that time.

Dr. WATSON. I was mistaken, then. I thought this was before that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. No. I was appointed National Youth Administrator in my State in 1935.

Dr. WATSON. It was my mistake.

Representative KEEFE. As I understood it, this bill was submitted to Congress by Tom Amlin, and this fellow Benson, from Minnesota, and some others. The National Youth Administration was already set up by Executive order of the President and not through any action of Congress.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. It has never had any legislative authority, but was set up under Executive order.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next is charge eight:

Photostat of a letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors on Pan American Democracy.

In its report to the House of Representatives on June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the Conference on Pan American Democracy to be a Communist front organization.

Representative POWERS. And, Mr. Chairman, might I add that the Attorney General has the Conference on Pan American Democracy listed under the memorandum of various other organizations of assistance to Communists and subversive activities?

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the reports of the Attorney General?

Representative POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, what explanation have you to make of that charge? I notice your name is signed to a list of men who are said to have been sponsors of this conference.

Dr. WATSON. It is entirely in accord, Mr. Chairman, with the principle which I followed, perhaps unwisely but consistently, of agreeing to sponsor organizations that seemed to me to have a worthy purpose, which in this case was the cooperation of the republics of the Western Hemisphere, and which included in their sponsorship people of unsullied reputation, like Charles Carr, the head of Hull House, and Sidney Hillman, and Rabbi Wise of the Synagogue in New York City. You will find all of their names there. It was not apparent to me at the time that this was not a worthy, genuinely democratic organization for Western Hemisphere work.

The CHAIRMAN. What influenced you to sign that?

Dr. WATSON. The secretary of the organization was Donald McConnell, a son of Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Church. I knew both Donald McConnell and his sister quite well. Donald McConnell was an instructor in economics at New York University, and has since died. He called me on the telephone, I think, and told me a little about the set-up of the organization and of some of the people who were interested in it, and it sounded all right to me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who were some of those who mentioned it to you and that made it sound all right to you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember now.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How about Malcolm Cowley?

Dr. WATSON. I would not have chosen him on that list. I would call Paul Douglas and Fairchild—

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico (interposing). This was set up in Washington.

Dr. WATSON. I was not in Washington then.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But its executive office was in New York. Do you recall the names of the people in New York connected with it? Was Malcolm Cowley in New York at that time?

Dr. WATSON. I did not know him, and do not know where he was. Rabbi Wise I know was in New York. Henry Fairchild was in New York. Donald McConnell was in New York.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. As to Donald McConnell, would you care to state what your claim is, as to whether he was a very conservative person or an extremely liberal person who has been accused of having radical tendencies?

Dr. WATSON. I think he was a liberal. I did not know of his being accused of being a radical. I know that his economics teachings were not radical.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you ever had the impression that Bishop McConnell himself has been criticized as being somewhat radical, and investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know about that. I have always had a great deal of admiration for Bishop McConnell. He seemed to be one of the most forward-looking men in the Methodist Church. Donald McConnell was a classmate of mine. I knew the family a little but not well.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And Franz Boaz was a member of the group?

Dr. WATSON. Was he? I did not know that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How do you remember that Charlie Carr was a member and do not remember that Franz Boaz was? You were on the faculty with Franz Boaz, but Charlie Carr was a long ways from you.

Dr. WATSON. I was stating for the subcommittee the names of men that would have made a good impression on me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Is that your memory as of that time or is it from a subsequent examination of the letter?

Dr. WATSON. From a subsequent examination of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Had the Attorney General at that time made the statement that he found the Conference on Pan American Democracy was possibly of assistance to the subversive activities in this country?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when the Attorney General did make the report in which he said that?

Dr. WATSON. My impression is that it was in connection with some of the Bridges investigations or a year or two later. I do not know the exact date.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. When did the Attorney General so decide, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Dr. Watson, when the Attorney General did so decide with reference to this organization, did you sever your connection with it, or was it then in active operation?

Dr. WATSON. I never had any active connection with it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then you would not regard being a sponsor as being an active connection?

Dr. WATSON. Sometimes it is. In this instance it was not, because it was a letterhead type of connection.

Representative POWERS. I believe you claim that none of your sponsorships of any of these organizations was a connection.

Dr. WATSON. Well, very often that is true. It happens to be true of these organizations we have talked about.

Representative POWERS. With reference to the organizations we have questioned you about, you say you do not consider you had a connection with them?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative POWERS. But it is true that you have spoken under the auspices of this Conference on Pan American Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative POWERS. How many times?

Dr. WATSON. Once.

Representative POWERS. What was the nature of your talk?

Dr. WATSON. A discussion on my observations in Mexico.

Representative POWERS. You sponsored the organization, spoke under its auspices, and yet you still claim that you have no connection with it.

Dr. WATSON. No. I would not say I had no connection with it, but I was not a member of it, and was not active in it.

Representative POWERS. Were there in fact members of the organization?

Dr. WATSON. As to that I do not know. I presume there were members and dues, but about that I do not know.

Representative POWERS. Sometimes I wonder whether there were any members of a lot of these organizations.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, I think there were members in every one we have inquired about.

Representative POWERS. How about members in the Conference on Pan American Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative POWERS. But to be a sponsor you did not have to become a member?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you have any reason to believe there was anything that anyone got which was more than a name on a letterhead in connection with this organization? Was there any card of membership issued, or any bill for membership sent to any living person?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Therefore you would not have any reason to say that you were not a member of it. So far as you know you were just as much a member as any other person, were you not?

Dr. WATSON. As far as I know. I do not know what the membership situation was in the organization. My contacts were not close enough for me to know about membership or any of the members.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You were in New York.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Their headquarters were at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The telephone is listed on this letterhead, and your name appears on it.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How much further did you go by way of finding out about that?

Dr. WATSON. I did not go any further.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. By what method did they ask you to speak?

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where did you speak?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know offhand.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was it in New York City?

Dr. WATSON. Somewhere in New York.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did someone call you?

Dr. WATSON. I presume so.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Well, did you ask anything about the nature of the address?

Dr. WATSON. I know what the nature of the address was because I gave it. It was a report on my observations of education in Mexico.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who called you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you ever see anyone who claimed to have a membership card in this organization?

Dr. WATSON. No. I saw people who were officials of the organization.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And that was Professor McConnell?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, he was one.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who else were officials?

Dr. WATSON. He was succeeded by David Efron.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The call for the conference in Washington in which you were urged to participate in 1938 is signed by Harry Lamberton and William Phillips. Were you acquainted with Harry Lamberton?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Had you heard anything about him?

Dr. WATSON. No. His name amounts to nothing to me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You never heard anything in connection with governmental activities in which he has been severely assailed?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How about Bernard Stern?

Dr. WATSON. I know him as a lecturer in sociology at Columbia University. I knew him very slightly. He was the author of a source book on the family.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What about William Phillips?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you say the subject you spoke on was educational activities in Mexico.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In that speech did you advocate the overthrow of the American Government?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else so advocate on that occasion?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people spoke there?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did more than one person speak?

Dr. WATSON. I do not even know that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember anybody who spoke except yourself?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Have you your manuscript of that speech?

Dr. WATSON. No. But the essential contents of it are in a pamphlet called Education and Social Welfare in Mexico.

Representative KEEFE. In this call, which is dated November 16, 1938, signed by Donald McConnell, appears this language, and I quote:

On behalf of the committee of sponsors—
of which you were one—

may I urge that your organization make every effort to participate. The problem is a pressing one, and the need for some solution is immediate. We understand your organization has a very real concern with the inroads that fascism is making in this hemisphere, and we believe you can make a valuable contribution to our conference. If you can send representatives please inform us at once. We are looking forward to meeting them in Washington.

Now, do I understand you to say that you permitted your name to be used as a sponsor of this Conference on Pan American Democracy in response to a request from Donald McConnell?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And that your name was used as a sponsor and you made no further investigation as to the attitudes or purpose or background of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. You were willing that your name as an educator should be used as a means of attracting other people to attend such conference, but you yourself disclaim any membership in the organization, and you yourself did not attend the conference.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. You were willing that your prestige should be used to influence others into an organization which you disclaim membership in yourself; is that right?

Dr. WATSON. I think that is essentially true. I do not know whether anybody was induced to become a member of the organization or not, as Congressman Keefe is pointing out, but it seemed to me a good organization at the time, and there seemed to be good people connected with it.

Representative KEEFE. As a matter of fact, viewing these things in the light of the realities of life, you know and I know that when you are asked to sponsor a meeting or to sponsor an organization, or I am asked to sponsor such an organization, I owe some duty to the people who know me to make some investigation as to what that organization stands for, or what its purposes are to be, because such

sponsorship continues on and nobody knows where it may reach; isn't that true?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, that is true, and I think I could and should have made more of an investigation than I ordinarily did in these matters. But I tried to follow the principle of finding out, first, whether it was a cause I believed in; and, secondly, whether there were enough people associated with it in whom I have confidence, so that I could sort of take their say-so for it.

Representative KEEFE. What did you understand the purpose of this organization to be?

Dr. WATSON. To develop relationships between the United States and the democracies of the Western Hemisphere, and to prevent—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). Have you any pamphlet or booklet or literature or bylaws or constitution or program any writing of any kind, that would indicate that to be its purpose?

Dr. WATSON. I am sure there was such material available to me at the time.

Representative KEEFE. Have you any such material now?

Dr. WATSON. I doubt it.

Representative KEEFE. I call your attention to the fact that Prof. Franz Boaz, whom you yourself designated as a fellow traveler, also appears as one of the sponsors of this organization, along with you.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. So that there were two men from Columbia University.

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I recognize the fact that in the course of time the nature of this organization became apparent. It is, as I now judge, a Communist-controlled organization. It was not at that time.

Representative KEEFE. What is your interpretation of a liberal? You speak of these people as being liberals.

Dr. WATSON. Well, my own interpretation of a liberal is best stated in terms of Thomas Jefferson, I think—a person who stands, as he did, wholeheartedly for the fundamental freedoms.

Representative KEEFE. You are familiar with the fact that we used to have a party in Wisconsin, and still have, known as the Progressive Party.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Founded by the elder Senator La Follette.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And those of us who in the early days believed in the principles that he espoused were termed liberals.

Dr. WATSON. Insurgents, I believe, was the name applied then.

Representative KEEFE. We were called liberals.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And we were called some other names sometimes.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Actually then we were called Bolsheviks and everything else, as I recall. Dr. Watson, I noted the other day in reading one of these brochures, and I have forgotten which one, a statement attributed to Dr. Melklejohn, who was at one time at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. In which he described the new liberalism as beginning where the progressives left off?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. In other words, judged by the standards of liberalism that these people espouse, that your name is associated with, the old progressive of the La Follette liberal type would be a rank reactionary today?

Dr. WATSON. That is not my view. Old Bob La Follette was one of my childhood heroes, and I have a great deal of affection for him and the type of thing he stood for.

Representative KEEFE. He was one of my heroes, too; but that fact has not led me into organizations such as this, nor any of them.

What I am trying to get at is this. You laid down a yardstick this morning by which you judged the character of Professor Boaz.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. I am trying to apply that same yardstick to you. Here, again, we find you and Professor Boaz supporting a movement, sponsoring a movement which has been found to be subversive in character. How many more we will find before we go through this whole record I do not know.

From this letter it would indicate that the concern that this outfit has or did have was with the so-called inroads that fascism was making in this hemisphere. What do you interpret the word "fascism" to mean? It is used rather loosely these days.

Dr. WATSON. It is used rather loosely; but I would want to limit it, I think, to the type of government in which a small group controls the military, governmental, economic and cultural life of the people under a dictatorship. That definition probably is not a very good one, but I think we know pretty well what Mussolini and Hitler and Franco stand for.

Representative KEEFE. Do you differentiate between that type of government and the Soviet type of government?

Dr. WATSON. I think there are differences, and I think both are totalitarian, and I would condemn both of them, or oppose both of them.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you ever put that viewpoint in writing in reference to the Soviet form of government?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I read some of it this morning. I do not know whether it was while you were here or not.

Representative POWERS. What was that?

Dr. WATSON. Some of it, in 1938, 1939, and 1940. Those were the dates of those pieces that I read this morning.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, did you know that this Conference on Pan-American Democracy, when you sponsored it, was dedicated to the task of fighting the spread of fascism in this hemisphere?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. That was its fundamental purpose, was it not?

Dr. WATSON. The help of democracy and the fighting of fascism, as I understand it; yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did you understand it was fighting the type of fascism as exemplified by Hitler and Mussolini, or the type of fascism exemplified by the totalitarian philosophy of Stalin?

Dr. WATSON. I understood it was primarily concerned with the dangers represented by the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini; and that seemed to me and still seems to me to be the greater danger.

Representative KEEFE. You never say any real danger in the Stalinist type of so-called fascism or totalitarianism, did you?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, I did; and I do.

Representative KEEFE. Who, if you recall, were the organized groups in this country that were fighting the spread of fascism in 1938?

Dr. WATSON. The most obvious and publicized, of course, was the American League.

Representative KEEFE. The American League for Peace and Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. Or American League Against War and Fascism, or whatever its name was.

Representative KEEFE. Those were well known Communist organizations, were they not?

Dr. WATSON. They were front organizations or Communist-controlled organizations.

Representative KEEFE. To be perfectly honest with this committee, it is a fact, is it not, that the organizations generally in this country that were spreading this doctrine for fighting fascism were confined almost entirely to Communists or Communist front organizations?

Dr. WATSON. I do not think that is quite true, Congressman. I think they were very vociferous, but I think there were a lot of organizations working for democracy, for democratic goals and democratic principles and just as much opposed to fascism.

Representative KEEFE. What do you mean by democratic principles?

Dr. WATSON. I mean the principles which are represented in that kind of government in which the people, through their elected representatives, control the processes of government.

Representative KEEFE. And not a government in which a few people, perhaps, through the exercise and influence of capital, are able to secure possession and control of a newspaper and thus propagandize as a result of their financial control of that instrument of publicity? Is that right?

Dr. WATSON. I think that is one of the problems of democracy—the control of our news sources by persons and corporations of large wealth. I think it is not an unsolvable problem.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know of any outstanding organizations, other than these Communist front organizations, that were out preaching against fascism in 1938?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not. I wish there had been more. I think we would be better prepared today to meet fascism.

Representative KEEFE. I do not accept your voluntary statement; but you have answered the question. You do not know of any, do you?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. But it readily occurs to you that there were certain Communist front organizations or Communist organizations that were constantly combating fascism and organizing to fight the spread of fascism in this country?

Dr. WATSON. In all fairness, does it not seem to you that you have stated my predicament? I was bitterly opposed to the danger that

seemed to me to be rising at that time. I wanted to cooperate as far as I could in an incidental way—it was not my main job—in the fight against fascism. Any time I went into anything that was organized to fight fascism it turned out—at least, it is apparent in years later—that those organizations were Communist-inspired and controlled. It was not so apparent at the time. As pointed out, there were not other organizations with which one could readily cooperate in that direction. It was not a matter of choosing those as opposed to others.

Representative KEEFE. You did not feel that the political organization of the country which then was in control of the administrative machinery of government offered a fit vehicle through which to combat fascism?

Dr. WATSON. I think it was part of what needed to be done, but it was not arousing public opinion against fascism or against Hitler at all at that time.

Representative KEEFE. I do not care to go any further with respect to this particular matter.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time that you were one of the sponsors of this Pan-American democracy organization had you made up your mind at that time that this man Boaz was a subversive character?

Dr. WATSON. No. I was not suspicious of him at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. How long after that did you become acquainted with the facts and begin to be suspicious of him?

Dr. WATSON. I think I would say of that as I have of the American Student Union this morning that it was the gyrations during the period of the Soviet-German pact, the nonaggression pact, and then the change, in June of 1941, after the attack on the Soviet Union, when the people whose international policy changed with the involvement of the Soviet Union were the people of whom I became suspicious.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no knowledge of his ulterior activities at the time you signed this?

Dr. WATSON. No; and I still do not know whether actually the old man participated in these things or whether some secretary in his office sent in his name. He was old and ill; and how much he actually did I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He was very active in 1938, however, physically. I saw him at that time.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. Doctor, when you learned that these various organizations that you were a sponsor of were Communist controlled did you ever publicly repudiate any of them?

Dr. WATSON. No, Congressman; I did not. That sounds very bad, but actually I think such repudiation is very rare in my professional field. I think that in no instance people have done so. If you go back to the list of names mentioned in connection with this Conference of Pan-American Democracy—Charlotte Carver I don't think ever repudiated it.

Representative POWERS. Did she have as active a part as you?

Dr. WATSON. She was a sponsor as well as I; and Irving Fisher. I do not know that people ever do that. Perhaps in political life it would be a thing that one would do; but we were not political candidates for public office. We were private citizens; and when we dropped

out of an organization we just dropped out. If the organization turned sour, we did not pay any more attention to it.

Representative POWERS. When did you speak under the auspices of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. At a meeting in New York City.

Representative POWERS. And were you paid a fee or an honorarium, or did you receive any money for that speech?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. No expenses?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. Nothing?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. I was going to ask exactly that same question. Out of all the hundreds of articles and monographs and dissertations that you have written down through the years, there does not appear to be any place at any time an article dedicated to the fraud, if I may call it such, that had been perpetrated upon you and other men similar minded by enticing or inducing you into organizations of this kind, and at no time have you exposed to the people whom you may have induced by your personality and your sponsorship to go into these organizations—at no time have you told them that these organizations which you sponsored were in the control of Communists and that they were subversive in character. You just kept still about it, didn't you, and kept joining others?

Dr. WATSON. Well, no; I would not say that.

Representative KEEFE. We will get to that later.

Dr. WATSON. I would say that in my courses in psychology and sociology this tactic was described and discussed and well understood; though I would not have expected to enter on a process of bitter repudiation. Perhaps I should have, but I did not.

Representative KEEFE. I say that because there are some well-known men who have repudiated organizations of this character.

Dr. WATSON. I think they have been pretty rare among the people that have been on the same list of sponsors with me.

Representative KEEFE. It may be rare among theologians and educators.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How do you regard Malcolm Cowley—as a fellow traveler or a Communist, or neither?

Dr. WATSON. I do not honestly know. I judge he is a fellow traveler, but I do not know that that is true.

Representative POWERS. What do you call a fellow traveler? What is your description of a fellow traveler?

Dr. WATSON. I would think of him as a person whose independence of judgment has been sacrificed to following the line of a political group like the Communist Party. The only reason why I deny being a fellow traveler is that I have always kept my independence of judgment.

Representative POWERS. Why does a person become a fellow traveler and not a member of the Communist Party? They do not like to admit membership in it? Is that it?

Dr. WATSON. As I understand it, the reason for it is that a member of the party has to submit to a very severe discipline, and people

who are somewhat sympathetic with it and generally follow it do not want to take on themselves the discipline of membership in the party.

Representative POWERS. What do you mean by severe discipline if you become a member of it?

Dr. WATSON. A large part of your income is turned into the party subject to direction as to how you shall spend your time. You must work in this campaign or that, or something of that sort.

Representative POWERS. Where did you get that information, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. The descriptions of the Communist Party given to me by individuals whom I have asked about it.

Representative POWERS. Is there any particular individual that you can recall who told you that?

Dr. WATSON. I do not think of any particular individual. There was the head of the Workers' School who came up to talk to classes at Columbia occasionally. We had representatives of all groups, political, social, and economic, left and right.

Representative KEEFE. Principally left, though, at that school, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. We have some very distinguished conservatives, Congressman.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The head of the Workers' School you knew to be a Communist, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. We were trying to find out what the Communist Party stood for.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you recall his name?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not. I was trying to think of it in response to the Congressman's question. We had Earl Browder at one time on the course.

Representative POWERS. Doctor, would I be right in assuming that anything connected with the Communist Party or a Communist is repugnant to you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not think you could say "anything connected" with it. I think you could say the undemocratic and antidemocratic nature of Communism, its undercover operation, its deceptions, its dishonesty, are entirely repugnant to me. Its strong centralized government is a concept that I do not think is sound.

Representative POWERS. What part of the Communist doctrine is not repugnant to you?

Dr. WATSON. I think the part that comes closest to the doctrine of sharing, of brotherhood, of mutuality of respect for persons of all races and religions, putting them on a par or attempting to do so. I think one of the things about the Soviet Union that is really admirable is the way they handle their minority problems. At the same time I would not for a moment defend their political organization or the wholesale economic planning which they have carried out.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever supported a Communist for any office in the United States?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you voted regularly?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How are you registered?
Dr. WATSON. As a member of the American Labor Party.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That is a part of the Communist Party, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. There are two wings of the American Labor Party in the United States, a right wing and a left wing—the left wing led by Congressman Marcantonio and under Communist control, I think, and a right wing led by the Socialist group and including a good many people that I think are liberals, if I may use a word which has appealed to me more.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How often have you registered with the American Labor Party?

Dr. WATSON. Twice, I think.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And you voted in which elections, if you do not mind saying that. I do not care to ask you specifically if you do not care to answer it, but it would help me if you told me one.

Dr. WATSON. I have voted in all the elections, I think. Possibly a primary I missed by being away from home.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you a voter in New York State?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. For how long?

Dr. WATSON. Twenty years.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Since 1930 or 1932 you have been registered as a member of the American Labor Party?

Dr. WATSON. I think, for 2 or 3 years in the American Labor Party. I think the first time I registered with them was when Senator Mead was the candidate of the American Labor Party.

Representative KEEFE. As bearing upon your general attitude which you have just expressed, in an address delivered by you on June 28, 1938, before the National Education Association you said—and this is from the text put into the Senate hearings by you yourself—and I quote:

We cannot make Government more democratic so long as economic power and the power to pay for propaganda which molds public opinion are concentrated in the hands of a few. Our Government and that of France and England may pretend to be democracies, but they are in truth plutocracies. It is no hyperbole of the radical demagog to assert that Mr. Millionbucks has at present an influence on legislative, executive, and judicial action which the man in the street, of equal or higher ability, cannot hope to have.

You stated that, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you believe that today?

Dr. WATSON. That seems to me to be one of those exaggerations that a speaker occasionally uses in trying to make a point. I would not defend that as a valid statement. It seems to me pretty radical and extreme. I think there is a grim truth in it.

Representative KEEFE. Would you care to stand on that statement, that the Government of this country may pretend to be a democracy, but in fact and in truth it is a plutocracy?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. What prompted you to make such a statement, then?

Dr. WATSON. Teachers and speakers, Congressman, sometimes use exaggerations to make a point. Then they regret it afterward when that point is brought out in a fashion like this. What I said there, I think, was that we cannot make government more democratic. One of our main problems in doing so is that the power to make up public opinion rests with agencies which are under the ownership and control of large investments. Newspapers cost a lot of money. Big radio chains cost a lot of money. I think that is a very real problem for our democracy.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. As an employee of the Federal Communications Commission you have been concerned with that problem?

Dr. WATSON. I have no responsibility in that area.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But you have been concerned in your discussions with Mr. Fly?

Dr. WATSON. I did not discuss this point with Mr. Fly or with any other member of the Commission. My own theory on the matter, if the committee is interested, is that our best safeguard here is the yardstick principle. I would like to see more radio stations like ours in New York City, and like the station at the University of Wisconsin and the station at Columbus, Ohio, under public control, alongside of private agencies. I would also like to see some experiment with newspapers under the control of larger governmental agencies alongside of private enterprise. I believe in the freedom for private enterprise, but I believe that some control alongside may be necessary.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And that would eventually lead to the dissolution of the privately owned stations, would it not?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Would they be able to compete against a Government-owned station?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir; very successfully. I have listened in New York for a great many years to radio programs, and occasionally I listen to WNYC, which is our New York municipal station, but I listen to the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Co. probably 8 to 10 times as much as I listen to the municipal station. Nevertheless, if I have to vote as to whether the municipal station should be continued or discontinued I would vote to have it continued. I think it is a good safeguard to have.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Would that not lead to the eventual breaking up of the large radio chains as well?

Dr. WATSON. That would not necessarily follow. I do not know whether the large chains should be broken up or not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I think my question is a little extraneous.

Representative KEEFE. You further stated in this speech that foreign affairs of plutocracies will seldom advance even in world cooperation and that capitalist nations will necessarily be far more concerned to keep plutocrats in power than to build world democracy.

You so stated, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. I did.

Representative KEEFE. What do you mean by building world democracy?

Dr. WATSON. I mean the kind of league of nations that I hope will emerge from this war; a genuine federation of nations.

Representative KEEFE. You made that speech in 1938?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you still were of the opinion in 1938 that the United States Government was a plutocracy and was more concerned in keeping plutocracy in power than to build world democracy?

Dr. WATSON. I am afraid that was true, Congressman.

Representative KEEFE. Do you believe it today?

Dr. WATSON. As of 1938. I believe it was going that way at that time.

Representative KEEFE. Do you believe that is a fair statement of the attitude of our Government today?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not.

Representative KEEFE. What caused you to change your opinion?

Dr. WATSON. The end of appeasement. That is the best way to put that. This 1938 speech was at the height of the appeasement business. It was shortly before Munich. It seemed to me that all around the world, instead of fighting, England, particularly, and the United States in part in collaboration were giving way. They were so scared of communism. They were so scared of the Soviet Union that they were giving way to Fascism on one front after another; and I thought that was due to the influence of persons who felt that they had a great deal to lose from the financial point of view.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Now we have reversed our position and are cooperating with the Soviet Union.

Dr. WATSON. We have reversed our position in opposing Hitler. Since we began to oppose Hitler, long before we began to cooperate with the Soviet Union, I changed my mind.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. We were opposing Hitler in 1938 and we were also opposing the Soviet Union.

Dr. WATSON. We were opposing Hitler in 1938? I do not think so. It did not seem to me that we were, at any rate. That was the thing that bothered me.

Representative KEEFE. May I ask you about this further statement; and I quote from your writing:

* * * How is it with the present necessity to replace the broken down profit system with one designed to produce and distribute all the goods and services the public can use? Shall we work for an all-or-none change, leaving the old order definitely behind us and building the new on a different foundation, or shall we work for gradual modification and improvement of the old, trusting that the net effect of many lesser changes will equal the greater one?

There are four major lines of argument: Humanitarian, psychological, economic, and political. Each of them leads to the conclusion that the apparent attractiveness of gradualism is fallacious; that only the sharp break brings promise of success.

Did you write that?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Do you believe that?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you then?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. What changed you, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. The progress of the New Deal. May I indicate what I have in mind there?

Representative KEEFE. Yes.

Dr. WATSON. This was written in 1934 or 1933.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. 1938, was it not?

Representative KEEFE. No; I think it was written in 1934.

Dr. WATSON. It is the only thing of that sort I ever wrote, and I know it was written for Commonsense Magazine in 1933 or 1934, and it seemed to me at that time that the New Deal, which was our attempt at gradualism and reform, was not solving our problems. Our unemployment continued. We were moving in various directions, contradictory directions; and this article was intended to be a plea for thinking through a consistent and planned program of where we were heading. The 1929 system was not working. The 1933-34 system did not seem to me to be working very much better. What I wanted to see was intellectually a program laid out that was consistent, that held together, that was unified. I think I was arguing essentially for the thing that W. P. B. has had to come to and Byrnes has had to come to, when we look at the economy as a whole and say "Now we have got certain broad lines that have to be laid down."

Representative KEEFE. They have been laid down since we got into the war, have they not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; we have done it under the stress of war.

Representative KEEFE. Do you think it should be a permanent part of Government?

Dr. WATSON. Not that; but I think some kind of plan is going to have to be laid down now that will work after the war and handle the problem of demobilization.

Representative KEEFE. Let me ask you this, Doctor. I am quite familiar with the works of many of these so-called economists, and I have read a large number of them. Prominent among them is the work of Maurice Parmelee. You are familiar with him, are you not?

Dr. WATSON. Only through the press.

Representative KEEFE. Have you ever read his works?

Dr. WATSON. No; I never have.

Representative KEEFE. It is strange that you should share such like views. At that time you adopted the thing that he uses in his book Farewell to Poverty, in which he discusses the inefficiency and impossibility of attainment of social objectives through a process of gradualism, which you state here, and he advocates openly the use of revolutionary process as the only medium of attaining social objectives. That is exactly what you advocated in 1934 when you made that statement, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. No; it is not.

Representative KEEFE. What did you mean, then, by "sharp break as against gradualism"—"that only the sharp break brings promise of success"? What did you mean by that statement?

Dr. WATSON. I meant that we could not get a radio system by just shouting louder and louder until finally your voice carries a long distance. You have got to get a different system of operation. You do not always make progress simply by expanding your present set-up. You sometimes have to introduce a different principle or underlying organization. Stated in this same article, although perhaps you do not have the quotation there, was the statement that it

was not meant as revolutionary in the machine-gun sense, but revolutionary in the sense that it rested on a different principle. I do not believe that now. I want that clear. But that was the way it seemed to me at that time.

Representative KEEFE. One of the ways which you advocated in this same speech that you have now referred to was this—and I quote:

It would be necessary to operate all kinds of production as public services and deprive individual owners of the right of control.

Did you write that?

Dr. WATSON. No; that came up this morning, you remember, Congressman. That was part of an illustration, a sentence taken from an illustration opening another speech, and represented a speaker before an Oklahoma teachers' college. That was not a part of this. That was not a part of the statement of my own ideas at any time.

Representative KEEFE. I accept that statement. Did you believe, Dr. Watson, in 1934 that it would be necessary to sharply change our economic system in order to bring about the social objectives that you had in mind?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. That might mean complete governmental control of business, and so on?

Dr. WATSON. That was a possibility, although that was not the only possibility.

Representative KEEFE. You say you do not believe that sort of thing today?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. When did you change your mind?

Dr. WATSON. I think the main factor—there were two main factors—one was that the New Deal worked more successfully than I thought in 1933 and 1934 that it would. We made substantial progress, and I think we can continue along such lines.

Representative KEEFE. Along what lines?

Dr. WATSON. Along the lines of modification of existing institutions.

Representative KEEFE. What type of modification of existing institutions do you have in mind?

Dr. WATSON. I have in mind the yardstick principle, for instance, by which, instead of taking control of an enterprise, a Government plant is set up alongside as a possible reference point. I have in mind the use of the planning agencies of government to stimulate individual enterprise and private enterprise, rather than taking control. May I go back to your question and state the second thing that influenced me?

Representative KEEFE. Certainly.

Dr. WATSON. It was the development in the Soviet Union of the kind of dictatorship that led to the purges and trials, and that led me to believe that a centralized power as great as any socialized state would have to have was too dangerous a thing. In one of the quotations I read this morning—I think the date was 1938—I pointed out that centralized power was always a danger and was particularly a danger in such a case.

Representative KEEFE. You think that delegation of power to bureaucracy is not a dangerous centralization of power?

Dr. WATSON. I certainly think it is a very dangerous centralization of power.

Representative KEEFE. Have you been alarmed over the progress we have been making in the last few years toward the centralization of power in the hands of bureaucracy?

Dr. WATSON. I have been very much alarmed by it.

Representative KEEFE. Do you believe now that there should be a profit motive in business?

Dr. WATSON. I have always believed there should be a profit motive, but I have not seen as clearly as I see today that there must also always be a competitive private enterprise system in operation. The profit motive permits a man to work for himself, to advance his own interests. We can be benevolent up to a certain point, but when our own interests come in, people will work more strongly for their own interests.

Representative KEEFE. Do I understand you to state that you are out of harmony with the present tendency toward centralized bureaucracy, its control of the life of the people of this country?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; definitely.

Representative KEEFE. You have come to that conclusion when?

Dr. WATSON. I should say, from 1936 to 1938, pretty largely.

Representative KEEFE. It has been accentuated since then, has it not?

Dr. WATSON. The bureaucracy danger has been developed very much during this war period. I was in England during the fall and I was impressed by the debate I heard in the House of Commons on what had happened to the prestige of the House of Commons. It reminded me of some discussions I had heard here about the prestige of our representative government and our Congress.

Representative KEEFE. Have you ever written anything giving expression to those sentiments that you are expressing today?

Dr. WATSON. I have made two speeches.

Representative KEEFE. No; I did not ask you that. Have you ever written anything?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. I would like to see one of the articles.

Dr. WATSON. This [indicating] is the only copy I have.

Representative KEEFE. I will return it to you.

Dr. WATSON. It is called Reconciling Collective Control and Decentralized Responsibility.

Representative KEEFE. Do you conceive, under your definition of fascism, Doctor, that centralization of control in bureaucracy may be as destructive a type of fascism as centralization of control in a totalitarian dictatorship?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I do not know whether it is likely to be quite as bad, but it is bad; and I do not want to make any distinction among bads.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very much interested in your statement in answer to the question of my colleague. Do you think that a government like ours, a democracy like ours, which has been able to acquire half the wealth of the world and do half of the business of the world deserves much criticism? I grant you that there are many things that should be corrected; but when we are the happiest people in the world, doing half of the business of the world with about one-sixth of

the area of the world under our flag and having less than 6 percent of the inhabitants of the world—with the acquisition of all those things, if you take the history of this Government and what it has done and what has come to its people, how can you criticize it?

Dr. WATSON. I think it is the best government the world has ever seen. I think it is the best country the world has ever seen. I think the common man has more chance here than he has anywhere else in the world. I think we have the best chance in the world to work out a good life for our families and our children. We have the best educational system the world has ever developed. I think there are some problems we are going to have to solve. I think there are some difficulties in the situation; but I agree with you that they are minor in comparison with the positive gains that have grown up through our American democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many of the rich men in the world have started as poor boys in this country.

Dr. WATSON. I have nothing against men becoming rich. I think it is appropriate that men should become rich.

The CHAIRMAN. That is determined more by the man than by his political surroundings, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I would like to go back to this Conference on Pan-American Democracy. It is one of the groups that definitely has been listed as subversive, and I am very anxious to determine your full connection with it. As I understood you to testify, you sponsored it and made one speech without pay in New York for it?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And that is the sum and substance of your connection with it?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Before the Dies committee you testified that you made a trip to Mexico in 1939 under the auspices of the Conference for Pan-American Democracy. How do you reconcile that with your previous statement that you had no other connections with it at all?

Dr. WATSON. The trip to Mexico was, I think, planned by the Conference of Pan-American Democracy.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It either was or was not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; it was.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then you cross out the phrase "I think"?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. My connection was simply that I was invited as an educational expert to go.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who invited you?

Dr. WATSON. Mr. Colston Warne. My understanding was that I was to pay my own expenses to the border and that the Mexican Government, which wanted a report on its education, would take care of my expenses from that point on. I think it was for that reason I did not think of the Conference of Pan-American Democracy as particularly running this, but I should have mentioned it.

Representative POWERS. Was Professor Warne a member of this Pan-American Conference?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative POWERS. Is he on the list there?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I cannot make it out on this list.

Do you recall any other contacts you had with this Conference?

Dr. WATSON. No. There were not any others. I should have mentioned this, although the implication of the Conference was not particularly strong.

Representative POWERS. The trip was planned by them?

Dr. WATSON. It was arranged by them.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who took care of the passport arrangements?

Dr. WATSON. There were no passports necessary to make a trip to Mexico.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How long were you there?

Dr. WATSON. A month.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And no passport was required?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In 1930?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; that is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You did not have to get a special tourist's passport at Laredo that carried you through?

Dr. WATSON. I got a tourist card; yes. I stopped and got that myself.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Were you all housed in the same place?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; in the Hotel Geneve. I understood that Maury Maverick was to be a member of the delegation, and as he could not appear I understand that Judge Wolf of the Supreme Court of Utah was a member of the group and was to write a report on the oil situation, which I never saw, though I saw him there.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. His attitude would have been that it was eminently proper for Mexico to expropriate the oil, would it not?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know. Nixon, Southern farm economist who was, I think, at that time at the University of Missouri, went to Mexico on this same arrangement.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you investigate political conditions in Mexico in 1939?

Dr. WATSON. Incidentally.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was Toledano quite prominent at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he or was he not openly a Communist agitator?

Dr. WATSON. I thought of him as a Communist. Whether he would openly be a Communist agitator or not, I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he not the representative of Moscow in Mexico City?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know. I would be a little surprised if he were. He was the head of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That is right. I will put it this way. In your trip to Mexico in 1939 did you discover that the Mexican Federation of Labor had become communistic?

Dr. WATSON. I had reason to believe that Communists were very active in it and closely allied with it. I think one could say that they had come under Communist control.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you visit the Museum of Fine Arts?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you see the beautiful plush seats which had been ripped up by the the Communists during one of their meetings?

Dr. WATSON. You mean, in the Palace of Fine Arts?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember having seen seats ripped up, but I know there was a knife business that went on there.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In other words, you people went to Mexico to check political situations when the Communist influence in Mexico was at its height?

Dr. WATSON. I would say not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. When would you regard it higher?

Dr. WATSON. I think it was higher a year or two before, probably after Cardenas made his agreement with the archbishop and the church, and the Cardenas regime had come to an understanding, at least in education, which was the field which I looked into particularly. The Communist influence had been much stronger 2 years earlier than it was in 1938.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What month were you there in 1939?

Dr. WATSON. In August.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I think probably there is no point in going further with it. I merely wanted to establish the time.

Who was the Minister of Education at that time?

Dr. WATSON. I have met him, but I have forgotten his name. He was a politician from the district in which Vera Cruz is located, I think. He had been governor there, and had been put in charge of this education program. I did not think he was good for anything.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did your group meet Dr. Eduardo Hay?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Or Arroyo, the Minister of Propaganda?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you meet Toledano?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I just want to ask again whether any arrangements for this trip were made by this Conference on Pan-American Democracy.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They made all the arrangements, did they not?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go to charge 9, which embraces exhibits 20, 21, 22, and 23, photostats of an official circular of Consumers Union.

On exhibit 22 the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a director of Consumers Union.

Consumers Union, like all other Communist front organizations, professes an objective which may easily deceive the unsuspecting. The professed objective of a Communist front organization, whether it be peace or democracy or the general welfare of humanity, is the principal device with which the Communist party attempts to conceal the true purpose of all its front organizations. (At this point it is well to bear in mind the statement of Attorney General Biddle on the question of front organizations, namely: "Testimony on front organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.") It is the mark of a loyal Communist fellow traveler to underline the professed objective of the organization whenever he is confronted with a demand to give an account of his collaboration with a Communist front organization.

Consumers Union was organized and from its very beginning has been headed by Arthur Kallet. Kallet's Communist Party name was Edward Adams. Under the name of Edward Adams, Kallet served as editor of the Communist Party's magazine, Health and Hygiene.

Are you acquainted with Arthur Kallet?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him as Kallet or as Adams?

Dr. WATSON. I never heard that he had any other name or any other activity until Mr. Matthews presented this at the Dies committee hearing the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you have to say about being a sponsor of Consumers Union?

Dr. WATSON. I think Consumers Union is and was a legitimate organization doing research on products. It was never accused, so far as I know, of any subversive activities apart from this charge, which I heard a few days ago for the first time, that its director, Arthur Kallet, had Communist connections. I had heard from Dewey Palmer, an employee who resigned after some difficulty with other members of Consumers Union, that there was a communistic clique controlling the organization. I went into it with some care and watched the behavior of people in the meetings. I could not see any evidence that that was true. I cannot deny that they may have had Communist connections in the background, but I never could find any evidence that this was a subversive organization or a Communist-controlled organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What relationship did you have with it—any except just to act as director?

Dr. WATSON. I acted on the board of directors. I had a responsible relationship to this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you a director of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. I was a director for one 2-year term and, I think, elected for another 2-year term, but resigned when I came to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any inquiry about its activities since your resignation?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who is president of it now?

Dr. WATSON. No. Colston Warne was—a professor of economics at Amherst.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The same person who went to Mexico with you?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. That is where I met him—on the board of the Consumers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been charged with making any speeches with respect to this organization?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever written any published matter in which you advocated the philosophy of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. I have never written specifically about it; but its philosophy seems to me to be entirely an acceptable one, namely, that consumers should be advised as to products.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the sum total of what it contends for, in your opinion?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, do you want to ask any questions?

Representative POWERS. If I understand your testimony correctly, Doctor, you testified you were a member of the board of directors of this organization?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative POWERS. And you know this Arthur Kallet?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. According to the exhibit we have before us, as Judge Kerr has already mentioned, Kallet's Communist Party name was Edward Adams. Did you know he was a Communist or fellow traveler or had any connection with the party or sympathized with them?

Dr. WATSON. I never did.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where did you meet him?

Dr. WATSON. I think I met him for the first time when he came to see if I would serve on the board of directors of Consumers Union, or be a candidate.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He invited you into the position?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative POWERS. Did he give you any reason why he particularly wanted you?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. You were not an expert on food, were you?

Dr. WATSON. No. They had an educational program; they put out a little study guide for teachers for discussing in economics classes the value of different products. The directors of Consumers Union are not appointed, but are elected by the membership, of whom there are some 80,000.

Representative POWERS. How do they hold those elections among the 80,000 members?

Dr. WATSON. By mail.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Is there a branch of that organization here in Washington?

Dr. WATSON. There are certainly many members in Washington. I do not believe it operates branches.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do they not have stores?

Dr. WATSON. No. They are supposed to be consumers cooperatives. Consumers Union sold nothing except information.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do they not work in close harmony with cooperatives?

Dr. WATSON. In the sense that many of the same people may also be interested in cooperatives, yes; but I do not think the organization is.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you been interested in cooperatives?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you a director of one in New York?

Dr. WATSON. No. I am a member of the Morningside Consumers Cooperative.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What do they call their store?

Dr. WATSON. Morningside Consumers Cooperative.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do they use the term "Konsum"?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The one here does, you know.

Dr. WATSON. I have not seen the store here. The one in New York is only a few blocks from my home, and we have been members of that since it was organized.

Representative POWERS. What is the benefit of that one?

Dr. WATSON. In New York?

Representative POWERS. Yes.

Dr. WATSON. The principal benefit is probably quality of product.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And elimination of profit for the middleman. Is not that the purpose?

Dr. WATSON. The amount of profit seems to me to be negligible.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What is the purpose of any cooperative?

Dr. WATSON. I thought the purpose of a cooperative was to put the consumer in control of the distribution process at that point. I think the benefit which the consumer gets is not primarily in terms of price or profit, because I think that is a pretty small factor. I think the benefit he gets is controlling the quality of the goods he gets.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He gets a better quality of goods at the same price? It means the elimination of the middleman's profit.

Dr. WATSON. The point is that to pay the salary of the manager of the cooperative takes just as much money as it does to pay a profit. I do not believe the financial saving in a cooperative is worth bothering with. I wrote an article which appeared in the Christian Century, in which I indicated my belief that the cooperative movement was not in my judgment particularly—well, that it would disappoint most of the people who were expecting through it to eliminate the middleman's profit.

Representative POWERS. Is Arthur Kallet a member of the cooperative that you belong to?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Is he a member of any that you know of?

Dr. WATSON. No. I never saw him except at their meetings.

Representative POWERS. They all operate under the Consumers Union?

Dr. WATSON. No. They have no connection. They were brought up in this connection, I think, by Congressman Anderson; but there is no connection between Consumers Union and any of these cooperatives.

Representative POWERS. Did they come into being because of the Consumers Union?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Entirely separate?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. No connection at all.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Would you think that Consumers Union generally over the United States had been organized by the Communist Party or not?

Dr. WATSON. I would think it had not; very definitely not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yet the man who asked you to join was a Communist.

Dr. WATSON. I am told now that he is a Communist, but I had never any reason to suspect it from anything that I ever saw him do.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What was his business in New York?

Dr. WATSON. His business was running Consumers Union. That was his full-time job.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How does it get its money?

Dr. WATSON. From memberships.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you pay for your membership?

Dr. WATSON. Surely. Every member pays and gets in return a bulletin every month describing tests that have been conducted on various products.

Representative POWERS. What are the dues, Doctor? Is there any initiation?

Dr. WATSON. Three dollars a year. There is no initiation fee.

Representative POWERS. And there are 80,000 members?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. Was anyone else paid besides Kallet?

Dr. WATSON. Oh, yes; there is a large staff of investigators and a large office staff and editorial staff.

Representative POWERS. Did you get a fee or any payment in return for being a director?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. Never have?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. You say there is a publication?

Dr. WATSON. That is right; Consumers Union reports.

Representative POWERS. Have any of those been filed with this committee or any other committee?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know. They could very easily be. They consist wholly of reports on tests of commodities.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I did not get here in time to hear the discussion started. May I refer to one question as to the appointment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In your job as analyst for Federal Communications Commission—I hope it is not in the record previously—you analyze and consider foreign broadcasts of the Allies, principally?

Dr. WATSON. Particularly in enemy-occupied countries and incidentally our allies and neutral countries.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What are those analyses used for?

Dr. WATSON. On the basis of them several reports are issued each week to other Government agencies that want the information and what the Berlin radio is saying and what the home people are hearing in France or in Italy or in Latin-America or in Japan or somewhere else.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Would you indicate for the record which agencies have requested that?

Dr. WATSON. It is in my statement which I presented at the beginning, and I think you have a copy of it, Congressman. It was mailed to you. I will be glad to furnish one now. The principal agencies are the State Department, Military Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, the Office of War Information, and the Office of Strategic Services.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further questions we will go to charge No. 10. Accompanying the charge are three exhibits, 24, 25, and 26, photostats of three pages from a pamphlet entitled, "These Americans Say."

On exhibit 25 the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of an organization which was known as the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo. This coordinating committee was a subsidiary of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The latter organization was unanimously found by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities to be a Communist front organization.

Do you know anything about this organization known as the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain? Look at it and see what you have to say about that charge [handing a document to the witness].

Dr. WATSON. My name appears along with 30 or 40 psychologists and a large number of writers and clergymen in favor of lifting the embargo against Spain. Every principle that I follow suggests that it was entirely appropriate that I should endorse that proposal. It was one which was endorsed by people who were not Communists. I had no belief that it was a Communist enterprise. I believed in the project, so I endorsed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo a Communist organization, to your knowledge?

Dr. WATSON. Not at that time. I understand from evidence presented now that there were Communist connections, but I did not know it.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you say about this:

This Coordinating Committee was a subsidiary of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

What do you know about that committee?

Dr. WATSON. I know that Bishop McConnell was chairman of it. A very representative group of people in all walks of life and all political parties had a part in that North American Committee. If there was Communist control on the inside, as it now alleged, it was not apparent.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of that North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. No. I was a member of a psychologist group which cooperated with the medical bureau of that committee.

Representative POWERS. Under the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo?

Dr. WATSON. I think the parent organization or the general one was called the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Representative KEEFE. I think, Dr. Watson, that all of us are somewhat familiar with the situation that existed at the time of the revolution in Spain and the attitudes that were manifested at that time. We had the spectacle of Hitler and Mussolini supporting and advocating Franco on the one hand, and we had the Stalinist regime giving aid and assistance to the so-called Loyalist government of Spain. It was contended that the Loyalist government was the democratic government of Spain and that Franco's group represented the revolutionaries; that the Loyalist government was the duly elected government of Spain, by the people, and the believers in the so-called fight against Fascism centralized their might behind the efforts of the Soviet Government to bring aid and relief to the Loyalist government of Spain. There was organized, among other things, in this country the organization which is before us in this particular charge as exemplified by exhibit 24, an organization known as Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain. Rather, that was the slogan. The name of the organization was the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo. Under that generalization there were a number of other organizations, were there not, all serving to achieve the purpose of lifting the Presidential embargo laid by the President under the terms of the Neutrality Act against shipments of arms and munitions to Spain, and you were one of those who, in line with your philosophy of fighting fascism wherever you found it or saw it, joined in that movement?

Dr. WATSON. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. It is just another evidence of joining another movement which the facts now demonstrate was directed and generated by Communist fellow travelers or Communist members. That is right; is it not?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. In that respect at least, with reference to this particular organization, your sympathies were those of the Communists who were seeking to alleviate the condition or help the Loyalists in Spain?

Dr. WATSON. We agree on that.

Representative KEEFE. There were a good many Communists and fellow travelers who actually participated by joining the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and various other organizations that were formed in this country to send aid and help to the Loyalists of Spain?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you were in full sympathy with that whole movement?

Dr. WATSON. No; I was not. I wished the democracies had done more to help Spain at that point, and I think we should have lifted the embargo. I do not think that the sending of Americans abroad by the kind of surreptitious methods which were used at that time, in defiance of the State Department regulation, was a well-justified activity, much as I wanted us to help the Loyalists.

Representative KEEFE. Did you make any statement at that time about that?

Dr. WATSON. I made no statement at that time. I recall some conversations in which I was asked to assist in that process.

Representative Keefe. You did not publicly discuss the work at that time did you?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Nor call attention of the people of this country to the fact that the work which they were doing, especially in the recruitment of personnel for the Loyalist forces in Spain, was in contravention of American law?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You know that to be a fact, though; did you not?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know whether I knew it was going on until after it was exposed through the action of the Department of Justice. I had no contact with that part of it.

Representative KEEFE. What was your particular end supposed to be—to get medical relief over there?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. That is the same thing; is it not?

Dr. WATSON. I did not do anything except that I was asked as a psychologist if I would join with the committee of 20 or 30—few if any Communists in the list—in support of getting the embargo lifted, which I did. I do not think that is the same thing as bootlegging fellows over to fight. I think we made a tragic mistake in Spain by not supporting them. But the action that I supported, so far as I know, was to try to lift the embargo.

Representative KEEFE. Your idea that a tragic mistake was made was because Franco ultimately succeeded in gaining control and imprisoned a lot of Communists in Spain?

Dr. WATSON. No. I think our position in the whole European war would be much safer today if we had a friendly instead of a hostile government in Spain; and we could have had it, I think. I realize we would have had to choose with the Communists, but it was a choice of bedfellows, and I think we chose wrong. I came to the conclusion at that time that it would be better to support the republican regime of Spain. Events have shown that that was right. I did not; of course, foresee all that has happened, but I think I had the right judgment on that issue.

Representative KEEFE. I am not quite familiar with just how the Loyalists came into power in Spain.

Dr. WATSON. They were elected at a perfectly legitimate election which has never been called in question. They were the authorized government of Spain.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you make any distinction between the early Loyalist government in Spain and the government which was actually in control at the time of the Franco uprising, which had it in those 350,000 relievers, if you want to use that term, in Madrid, who organized the revolution against the more passive republicans? Do you recognize any difference between the republicans in Spain, or are they all the same to you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not think I know just what you mean.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. There was no agitation on the part of well-meaning Americans to rush to the defense of any group in Spain as long as the patrician Spaniards continued to control the democracy. The monarchy had dissolved and a democracy had been set up founded on members of the Spanish nobility, people of substance in business, and excellent lawyers and doctors and others. Then that government was supplanted by the group of 350,000 or more people who were what we would say in this country on relief in Madrid during the winter. They were the Communists, and they swept that group out; and it was when they swept out the group of regular people that Franco led the patricians in a successful revolt against the Communists.

Dr. WATSON. When you say that group of 350,000 swept them out, you mean in a regular election?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Under terrorist means.

Dr. WATSON. I did not know that was true. I understood that a republican regime of a popular front character had been elected. Is that the group that you refer to as relievers?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The first group which was elected was composed of more or less extremely responsible citizens. The other group represented a mass of poor and completely destitute people during a winter in which the Communist organizers came in and organized them exactly as they sought to organize them in Mexico in 1939.

Representative KEEFE. And just as they attempted to do here under the Workers' Alliance.

Dr. WATSON. That was a pretty small proportion of the people which came into power in Spain; was it not?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I would not think so; not of the final group that caused the Franco Revolt. I have discussed it with friends of Spain who had become outcasts merely because they were people of property and substance and culture.

Dr. WATSON. I would not be sympathetic with that.

The CHAIRMAN. The next charge is accompanied by exhibits 27 and 28, photostats of a circular of the Descendants of the American Revolution and of page 2 of the Daily Worker of February 13, 1939.

On both of these exhibits the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of the Descendents of the American Revolution.

In its report to the House of Representatives on June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the Descendants of the American Revolution to be a Communist front organization.

What have you to say with reference to that charge, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I was a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. That has no connection in the world with the Sons of the American Revolution, has it?

Dr. WATSON. It is an entirely different organization, although it has the same standard of membership, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. I never heard of it before.

Dr. WATSON. Excepting that it includes both men and women.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you ever heard that it was organized and so named as a direct slap at the Daughters of the American Revolution?

Dr. WATSON. I rather think it was; yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was definitely organized as a slap at the Daughters of the American Revolution. It arose at that time when the Daughters of the American Revolution were questioning Negro rights, and the Descendants of the American Revolution was a method to ridicule them somewhat by a competing organization.

Dr. WATSON. I did not understand it as ridicule. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution were not carrying out what I thought was the spirit of the American Revolution; and the Descendants of the American Revolution were a group of liberals, if I may use that word again, who were going to try to make that organization carry forward American ideals.

Representative POWERS. What is the requisite for membership?

Dr. WATSON. Direct descent from a participant in the Revolutionary War.

Representative POWERS. That was definitely one of the requisites?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative POWERS. Without being a direct descendant, you could not become a member?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That was merely a statement on affirmation and did not require careful investigation and tracing of ancestry?

Dr. WATSON. No; I had to pay a fee to have my genealogical investigation made to demonstrate what I knew to be true, that on both my father's side and my mother's side people had been fighting in the Revolutionary War.

Representative POWERS. How many members are there in that organization?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative POWERS. A hundred?

Dr. WATSON. I supposed there were many more than that, though I do not know. At the time it was launched there were a number of very distinguished people.

Representative POWERS. And some not so distinguished?

Dr. WATSON. Apparently. But the names that I knew about, such as Josephine Truslow Adams, Prof. Walter Cannon, of Harvard,

John Chamberlain, book reviewer for the New York Times—they were a splendid crowd of people. I went to one meeting in New York and found the people who attended the meeting were not persons of the caliber of the people whose names had been submitted, so I just dropped out.

Representative KEEFE. You found they were a bunch of Communists, didn't you, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you had been made a sucker again by sponsoring another Communist outfit?

Dr. WATSON. Joining it.

Representative KEEFE. And sponsoring it?

Dr. WATSON. I did not sponsor it.

Representative KEEFE. You joined it?

Dr. WATSON. I was a member.

Representative KEEFE. When you found out that it was a Communist outfit did you denounce it at all?

Dr. WATSON. No; I just dropped out.

Representative KEEFE. You did not say anything to the public about it at all?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you a member?

Dr. WATSON. One year, I think. I paid dues and I went to one meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a speech at that meeting?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You took no part in the meeting, except that you were there as a member?

Dr. WATSON. I saw what it was, and quit.

Representative POWERS. Before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities you testified:

I attended, I should say, two or three meetings of the Descendants of the American Revolution in New York City.

And you said that—

In one or two instances the Communist connection of the individual was apparent to me. I dropped out of it and had no further connection with it.

Dr. WATSON. One man who was there, whose name I do not now remember, was a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for Queens. I remember having seen his name or something of the sort. For the rest I judged simply from the kind of people whom I saw up there. It is not perhaps fair to say that one can judge Communists by looking at them, but it did not seem to me to be—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I am a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and I have never heard of this organization. Was it not a local organization?

Dr. WATSON. It was supposed to be national.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about any of the meetings except that in New York?

Dr. WATSON. No. I know there were members at Harvard and other places.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until next Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., the special subcommittee recessed until Monday, April 12, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

The special subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment on Friday, April 9, 1943, in room 449, Old House Office Building, Representative John H. Kerr, chairman of the special subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Representatives Kerr (chairman of the special subcommittee), Gore, and Keefe.

Present also: Major Matt. H. Allen, counsel to the special subcommittee; R. E. Lambert, clerk to the special subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. The special subcommittee will please come to order. We will resume with Dr. Watson.

TESTIMONY OF DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON, CHIEF OF THE ANALYSIS DIVISION, FOREIGN BROADCAST INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, the twelfth charge made against you by the Dies committee refers to exhibit No. 29, in reference to matters about which you have been testifying, as follows:

Photostat of advertisement from the New Masses of August 27, 1940.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of a contest held under the auspices of the International Workers Order.

The International Workers Order is one of the most influential and successful of the several auxiliary organizations of the Communist Party. Its national officers, William Weiner and Max Bedacht, are outstanding leaders of the Communist Party. William Weiner was recently convicted of fraudulently representing himself to be an American citizen, and Max Bedacht was a former general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Both Weiner and Bedacht are at present members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

In its report to the House of Representatives in January 1940 the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the International Workers Order to be a Communist front organization.

Please look at the exhibit and make whatever explanation you wish, or answer you desire to make, to that charge.

Dr. WATSON. Judge Kerr, I do not remember this connection, but I accept the exhibit as showing that I agreed to sponsor a Plays for Children Contest under the auspices of the organization referred to. I had no other connection with that organization, and did not know its officers or activities. The other sponsors, or some of them at least, are known to me as people in education, one being a playwright, and another being a principal of a public school in New York City. I was undoubtedly invited as an educator to serve as a sponsor.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, if you are just guessing at your answer please do not encumber our record with guesses.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any other relationship, either near or remote, except to sponsor this Plays for Children Contest?

Dr. WATSON. No other connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were you induced to become a sponsor for this Plays for Children Contest?

Dr. WATSON. I was invited to do so, and it seemed to me an appropriate activity for an educator.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember who invited you to do so?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir; I do not. I do not just remember being invited to do so, or who invited me to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Weiner invite you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Max Bedacht, did he invite you?

Dr. WATSON. I never heard of either one of them before.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know either one of them?

Dr. WATSON. I never knew or saw either one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at this Plays for Children Contest?

Dr. WATSON. No. There was no play given. I think some plays were to be written, as I remember it, but I did not see them and do not know anything about them.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions by members of the subcommittee?

Representative KEEFE. Were you familiar with the character of the International Workers Order in 1940?

Dr. WATSON. Not particularly, no.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, this advertisement appeared in the New Masses on August 27, 1940. That is a comparatively short time ago.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you were listed as sponsoring this Plays for Children Contest.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Which was sponsored by the International Workers Order.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Do you not know that in 1940 the International Workers Order was a Communist front organization?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not know much about that. I had the impression it was a radical workers organization of some sort, but I did not look at that.

Representative KEEFE. You made no investigation of it?

Dr. WATSON. I did not feel that I was sponsoring the organization in any way.

Representative KEEFE. But you were sponsoring an activity of the organization.

Dr. WATSON. That is right. But the Plays for Children Contest seemed to me to be a respectable activity.

Representative KEEFE. Did you make any investigation at all as to the purpose or the background of the contest?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Before you lent your name as a sponsor to this program?

Dr. WATSON. No; I did not. It might have been wiser to do so, but I did not think it was illegal or improper to do so.

Representative KEEFE. You have answered my question that you did not go into that, and that is a sufficient answer to my question.

Did you see this advertisement in the New Masses?

Dr. WATSON. I did not.

Representative KEEFE. And you cannot recall who it was that invited you to serve as a sponsor of this Plays for Children Contest?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. And it was only back in 1940.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. Did you see any of these plays?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Did you pass judgment upon any of them?

Dr. WATSON. No; I did not see any of them. I do not know that any of the plays were ever written.

Representative KEEFE. This situation seems to be like some of the others we have discussed heretofore. You just carelessly allowed your name as an educator to be used in sponsoring this sort of thing, without making any investigation as to who was behind it, or what was behind it, or anything of the kind.

Dr. WATSON. That is true. I usually knew some other people associated with such an activity, and knew the general purpose of the activity to be a good one, and with those circumstances before me I usually agreed to become a sponsor.

Representative KEEFE. Knowing these things, can you not recall who asked you to become a sponsor?

Dr. WATSON. The only two names I know on that list are Albert Maltz, the playwright, and Elizabeth Irwin, the principal of one of the public schools of New York City. It might have been one of them.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know they were to be cosponsors with you?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know the circumstances of the invitation.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether this Plays for Children Contest was held?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we turn to charge 13, exhibit 30, and the charge is as follows:

Photostats of 4 pages from a booklet published by the League of American Writers.

Goodwin Watson was one of the authors who contributed to this booklet.

The Interdepartmental Committee, in its confidential memoranda, found the League of American Writers to be a subversive organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities has likewise declared unanimously that the League of American Writers is a Communist-front organization.

I show you this exhibit and ask you to make what explanation you can about that charge.

Dr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry the exhibit does not contain the contributions of the other persons who wrote for this booklet, because Vice President Wallace, and Associate Justice Jackson, and Secretary Ickes, and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, wrote passages similar to the one I contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the same tenor?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; under the same auspices. It is incredible to me that this should be offered as an exhibit of un-Americanism.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not the League of American Writers was subversive? That is, did you know at the time you wrote these contributions to this pamphlet that the League of American Writers was a subversive organization?

Dr. WATSON. I certainly did not know it was a subversive organization, and do not know that it is. I knew it was an organization in which the Communist Party had been very active. The point

was, that we were asked to make a statement on anti-Semitism, which I think we were well justified in making whether the organization was a communist organization or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write the article referred to in this pamphlet?

Dr. WATSON. I wrote it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all that you wrote?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your contribution?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir; that was my contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions by members of the subcommittee?

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, do you recall who invited you to make this contribution?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not.

Representative KEEFE. You do not recall the circumstances under which you were asked to prepare an article entitled "Anti-Semitism in American Psychology"?

Dr. WATSON. No; I do not.

Representative KEEFE. And at the time you made this contribution to whom did you send the manuscript?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know, but presumably to the person who sent me the letter of invitation.

Representative KEEFE. Were you a member of the League of American Writers?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know—or I mean, did you know where your article was to be published when you submitted it?

Dr. WATSON. That it was to be published in a collection of such statements, I knew that.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know who was to publish it?

Dr. WATSON. I assume so.

Representative KEEFE. No; do not give us assumptions. Did you know?

Dr. WATSON. I cannot be sure, but think I did.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know it was to be published by the League of American Writers?

Dr. WATSON. I suppose so.

Representative KEEFE. Your answers are subject to a variety of conclusions, I am afraid.

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. If you know please say so. I do not want to appear to be insistent or domineering, but I think you are intelligent enough to see that your answers when read in cold type would be subject to interpretation either way. If you do not know just say so, but do not guess.

Dr. WATSON. I am trying to be exact. Perhaps I am trying too hard to be exact.

Representative KEEFE. I am not here to try to press down on you, but am trying to get a few basic facts.

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I understand.

Representative KEEFE. You were asked by somebody to write an article, and you do not know who made that request?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Were you paid for writing it?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You do not know to whom you gave the article, do you?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. If you did not know who asked you to write the article, did you know that it was to be published by the League of American Writers?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Then you just wrote an article at the request of some person whom you cannot now identify on the particular subject of Anti-Semitism in American Psychology?

Dr. WATSON. That I can testify from knowledge.

Representative KEEFE. And you were willing it should be published anywhere, by anybody?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You do not think there was anything in your article that would be subject to criticism?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And you stand today by what you wrote in that article?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And in this article you use this language:

There is a long-term need, even more important. Psychologists know that there will be scapegoat attacks so long as our economy continues to frustrate the reasonable hopes of a large proportion of our people. The propaganda of the power-group which would like to preserve its privileges although it is unable to save our standards of living, will necessarily be directed toward putting the blame upon some other minority. If social psychologists can help the average citizen see through the efforts to misconstrue our economic and political predicament, then only have we a right to hope that anti-Semitism may be really smashed.

At the time of the writing of this article you had in mind that our economy, as then constituted, was continuing to frustrate the reasonable hopes of a large number of our people, and that the so-called power groups in the country were attempting to divert the attention of the masses of the people from the real causes by making a scapegoat out of the subject of anti-Semitism, or, I suppose, make a scapegoat out of it by preaching anti-Semitism; is that what you intended to convey?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Do you still believe that?

Dr. WATSON. No; and I do not think it is a very important factor. I think it is a minor factor.

Representative KEEFE. When was it that this article was written?

Dr. WATSON. I do not remember what the date was.

Representative KEEFE. It was fairly recent, was it not?

Dr. WATSON. I should think it was at least 3 years ago, and may have been 4 or 5 years ago.

Representative KEEFE. What caused you to change your mind as to the sentiment expressed in this article, and when did you change your mind, if at all?

Dr. WATSON. The forces that cause one to change his mind in a period of economic and social change are pretty hard to identify. I do not know what led me away from the socialistic outlook I had at that time toward a view which could, perhaps, be best identified at present as corresponding to that of Thurman Arnold in the attack on monopolies and the establishment of a genuine competitive condition in American economy.

It was no particular book, or event, or person, that was most influential in that process. It was a process, as I explained the other day, which arose in part from the evidence of repression in trials in the Soviet Union, and the dangers of state socialism on a grand scale.

I might say, partly the growing intelligence of business groups; their increased interest in planning as evidenced by the magazine *Fortune*. That is one of the things that has been very influential in encouraging me to have hope in business groups in the United States.

I cannot answer your question, Congressman, but it does not seem to me that even though I still held essentially the views you state, that anything illegal or subversive or anything other than an honest difference of opinion among American citizens, would be involved in it.

Representative KEEFE. I am not charging there is anything subversive, but am seeking to elicit your opinion.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. At least, when you wrote this article, at whatever date it was, you shared the opinion of some people that the attacks which were being made upon the Jews and upon Communists, or upon minority groups, were inspired by powerful majorities in the Government that were seeking to perpetuate the system in power, a system you were opposed to. And you pointed out that anti-Semitism was an attempt on the part of those power groups in government to distract the attention of the ordinary citizen from the real issue by making scapegoats out of Jews.

Dr. WATSON. I think that was happening.

Representative KEEFE. That is what you believed?

Dr. WATSON. I think that is what factually happened.

Representative KEEFE. And you still believe that, do you not?

Dr. WATSON. No. As I stated a few moments ago, my ideas on this point have changed.

Representative KEEFE. You still believe, do you not, Dr. Watson—and in connection with that, later on I will try to bring some of your writings up to date—that there are influences in this country which you are pleased to term "Fascist influences," which are seeking to do the very thing you have described in this article?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I think there are.

Representative KEEFE. And you still are of opinion that the reason they are doing it is in order to escape responsibility for their failure to provide a social and economic system that will bring the widest benefits to the largest number of people?

Dr. WATSON. I think that is true in some cases; and I do not think that that accounts for all of that by any means.

Representative KEEFE. Do you feel it is that same type of influence which attempts to smear and bespatter the so-called liberals wherever their writings or views are allegedly in the interest of the great mass of the people?

Dr. WATSON. I am afraid sometimes it is.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the contributions made by the other gentlemen referred to in this pamphlet?

Dr. WATSON. I think they were published; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take the same position in reference to this matter on anti-Semitism that the others took, who were referred to awhile ago?

Dr. WATSON. They all took a position opposed to anti-Semitism.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Watson, we now come to charge 14, exhibits 31 and 32:

Photostats of an article from pages 1 and 4 of the Daily Worker of July 23, 1940.

On exhibit No. 32, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the signers of a letter issued under the auspices of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

With few exceptions, the signers of this letter were persons with long records of affiliation with the front organizations of the Communist Party.

I show you the exhibits and give you an opportunity to answer that charge, made by the Dies committee.

Dr. WATSON. The protest asked the authorities to intervene against the vigilante groups and local authorities which had tried to keep the Communist Party off the ballot. It seems to me American citizens interested in civil liberties would want to support a movement of that sort whether they agreed with Communist ideas or not, so long as it was a legal party and was being attacked by illegal methods.

Those who agreed with me were Rev. Clarence E. Boyer, Madison Square Church House, New York; Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president emeritus of Mount Holyoke College; Dr. Edward Allsworth Ross, national chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a Wisconsin sociologist. I am sure these people would not be called agents of the Communist Party in any sense.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time did you know the persons who signed this long record of affiliation with a front organization of the Communist Party?

Dr. WATSON. No. But I think I would have been willing to sign the petition for the civil rights of a party regardless of who the other signers were. I enumerated some of them shown on this photostat only to show that in my judgment these, along with other persons, were held in high esteem in America.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know about the National Emergency Congress for Democratic Rights? Is that a Communist Party front organization?

Dr. WATSON. I have never heard that it was. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about it?

Dr. WATSON. Do I know anything about the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Dr. WATSON. I do not know anything about it, except that they were responsible for this activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions by members of the subcommittee?

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, who asked you to sign this letter?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. That was as of July 22, 1940.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know who the other signers of the letter were when you signed it?

Dr. WATSON. I did not know.

Representative KEEFE. Did you actually sign a letter, if you recall?

Dr. WATSON. I do not recall.

Representative KEEFE. On the list of names published in the Daily Worker your name appears next to the last on the list.

Dr. WATSON. That might be in alphabetical order, but I do not know. I think it probably expresses the esteem in which the Daily Worker held me as compared to the people put up front, but I do not know. It may be they just took the names at random, but about that I do not know.

Representative KEEFE. It is quite clear that the names are not listed alphabetically. A glance at the list of names will indicate that. The first name on the list is Dr. Mary E. Woolley, and the second name is Dr. E. A. Ross.

Dr. WATSON. That would give support to my theory that they possibly put the important people at the top, and put me at the end.

Representative KEEFE. I see Dr. Franz Boas is down here.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. The same man we talked about before.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. He is the so-called anthropologist?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. He is right at the top, too. And there appears here the name of Paul Robeson, Max Lerner, of the Nation; Malcolm Cowley, editor, the New Republic, and so on. Here, again, you do not know whether you actually signed the letter or whether you consented to the use of your name; and you do not know who asked you to sign it, or whether you saw the letter, and do not know whether you read the letter before you signed it or not; is that a fair deduction from your testimony?

Dr. WATSON. No; that is not a fair deduction, because I certainly would not sign a letter without reading it carefully and judging it on its merits.

Representative KEEFE. But you do not recall any of the circumstances?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You assume you must have read the letter, because you would not have signed it otherwise, because that is your principle and practice?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir; that is right.

Representative KEEFE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The next charge is No. 15, exhibits 33 and 34
This charge involves:

Photostats of the front and reverse sides of the letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

On exhibit No. 34, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of this organization.

In its report to the House of Representatives in January 1940 the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to be a Communist front organization.

I notice here in the list of the various people who seemed to be interested in this matter your name appearing in the last line under the head of "Psychologists' Committee."

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any recollection about signing this paper?

Dr. WATSON. I remember that I agreed to become a member of the Psychologists' Committee for the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about this organization, Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy?

Dr. WATSON. I know something about the large number of people associated with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the constitution or bylaws of the organization?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not familiar with that?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us, if you can, who were associated with it?

Dr. WATSON. Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Church, I think, was the chairman of it. On this medical bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, I know Dr. Hayden Emerson of our public health department at Columbia University; Dr. T. Wingate Todd, whom I have known; Dr. C. P. A. Winslow of Yale University, a leading man in the field of public health and medicine; and the secretary was Dr. Herman F. Reissig, who had been connected with the Federal Council of Churches.

It was a group, as I remember it, largely made up of clergymen, professors, physicians, and other professional people, who were supporting the general side of aid to Spanish democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. It is alleged here that the Dies committee has found that this is a Communist front organization. At the time you signed this exhibit referred to, did you know that was true?

Dr. WATSON. I did not know that it was true.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it is true today?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know whether it is true today or not. It would be a very difficult thing in connection with an organization with as wide support as an organization to aid Spanish democracy, to say just about that. Undoubtedly there were Communists in it, but whether it was a Communist front organization is difficult to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contribution to its activity?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Any writings?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you appear at any of its meetings?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or make any speeches?

Dr. WATSON. No speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions by members of the subcommittee?

Representative KEEFE. It might be fair to say and not be very far from the truth, as indicated in questions and answers the other day on this subject, that the so-called Loyalist Government of Spain was the so-called people's government and was supported by the Communist Party.

Dr. WATSON. Well, if we recognize that the Communist Party supported it, which I do, I think we should recognize that two-thirds or three-quarters of the people of the United States favored aid to Spanish democracy, because at that time it was indicated by the Gallup polls.

Representative KEEFE. The fact of the matter is that historically we know the Soviet Government was supporting the Loyalist Government of Spain.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Sending them arms and munitions.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And the Communist Party in this country was actively supporting Loyalist Spain, was it not?

Dr. WATSON. It was.

Representative KEEFE. And you knew that?

Dr. WATSON. I knew that. And I wish we had done so, and that France had done so, and that Britain had done so. I am glad that the Soviet Union had the foresight to see that fact.

Representative KEEFE. And to give all the aid that could possibly be given by this country these various organizations were set up?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Like the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and this, that, and the other, a lot of organizations along that line, of which this was one.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Definitely and clearly for the purpose of aiding the Loyalist Government of Spain, which was in fact the Communist Government of Spain, was it not?

Dr. WATSON. No. In my judgment it was a liberal government with some Socialists, some Communists, and others, independents.

Representative KEEFE. At least it was a government to which the Communist Government of Russia gave its wholehearted military, financial, and diplomatic support.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And the Communists of this country gave its full support.

Dr. WATSON. And so did millions of others.

Representative KEEFE. Let that fact stand, whether there were millions or not I do not know.

Dr. WATSON. Well, the polls showed it.

Representative KEEFE. At least we know that Communist Party organizations in this country gave it their support.

Dr. WATSON. But it was not the only organization that gave support.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to state what other organizations gave their support?

Dr. WATSON. I do not know how many or what other organizations gave their support. But at the time of that struggle opinion in this country was divided, with a large majority in favor of aiding the Loyalist Government, and avoiding the Fascist elements in the Spanish struggle. Congress was divided. I do not know what organizations were active. I do not want to leave on the record the impression that this was in any sense the exclusive sympathy of Communists.

Representative KEEFE. You say Congress was divided. You are familiar with the fact that there was a manifesto signed, I believe by some 23 members of Congress at that time, demanding the lifting of the embargo against Spain. That represented 23 out of 435 Members of the House of Representatives signing that manifesto. The number may have been 26, but my recollection is the number was 23.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a personal document or a public record?

Representative KEEFE. It was signed by those 23 members and filed by them and appears in the Congressional Record. It was signed, among others, by Tom Amlie and Jerry Voorhis and Tom Coffey. You will find it in the record. Anyone who is fair must admit that at that time there was stirred up in this country a certain amount of opinion to try to get the President to set aside the proclamation by which an embargo was laid upon the civil war in Spain. My recollection is—and I was not a Member of Congress at that time—that, as contrasted to the statement Dr. Watson has made, Congress itself ended the neutrality law, so as to provide for an embargo against the shipment of arms and munitions to Spain, which was involved in civil war, as it was termed. Up to that time the neutrality legislation was such that it only applied to wars between nations and Congress passed legislation at that time.

Dr. WATSON. I do not think that contradicts my statement that Congress was divided on the point.

Representative KEEFE. And pursuant to that legislation the President invoked the provisions of the neutrality legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us move, now, to charge 16, made by the committee of which Mr. Dies is chairman. It refers to a photostat of page 2 of the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, as exhibit No. 35.

On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the signers of the statement defending the Communist Party.

It is to be recalled that this defense of the Communist Party was made at a period which marked the height of the Communist-led sabotage strikes in America's defense industries.

I will show you this charge and the exhibit and ask you to make any statement you desire with respect to it.

Dr. WATSON. The statement cites a series of illegal acts against the Communist Party, some of them by vigilante groups, some of

them with respect to removing the party off the ballot under certain pretexts. The statement says quite specifically [reading]:

Consequently we, who are not Communists, whose concern goes beyond the preservation of their constitutional rights to the maintenance of the democratic way of life as the road into the future—

Representative KEEFE [interposing]. Are you sure that you are reading from this exhibit?

Dr. WATSON. I am reading from a copy of it; yes.

Representative KEEFE. What you are reading apparently relates to another exhibit.

Dr. WATSON. It is on this exhibit.

Representative KEEFE. On exhibit 35?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; in the third column, near the bottom of the page, under the double line [reading]:

Consequently, we, who are not Communists, whose concern goes beyond the preservation of their constitutional rights to the maintenance of the democratic way of life as the road into the future, urge you, the President, to exercise your authority and influence.

And so on. It was signed by about 400 persons of large and small reputation, non-Communists, of whom I was one, and represented an attempt to preserve what we thought were the civil liberties and legal rights of this party. I would add that, in my judgment, a policy of repression against Communists makes the danger worse. I think if we deal in the open as a recognized party they will do less damage to this country and be less likely to mislead anybody anywhere. That is still my position.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you care to put on record the names of some of the gentlemen that signed this?

Representative KEEFE. The names already appear here, Judge.

Dr. WATSON. A few that I think would be notable would be President Albert Palmer of the Chicago Theological Seminary; Prof. Paul M. Limbert of Springfield College; Prof. W. E. Hoeking, perhaps our best idealistic philosopher at Harvard University; Mrs. Thomas Hepburn, who is famous, perhaps, as Katherine's mother and as a leader in liberal causes in Connecticut; Edward L. Parsons—

Representative KEEFE [interposing]. With a sprinkling of fellows like Tom Mooney also? Is that right?

Dr. WATSON. Is Tom Mooney's name there also?

Representative KEEFE. May I ask you this question, Doctor. This article starts [reading]:

To the President and Congress of the United States:

We bring to your attention a matter of vital significance to the future of our Nation. It is the attitude of our Government toward the Communist Party.

Then it sets forth the fact that the Communist Party was ruled off the ballot either by executive decision or court action in 15 States; that in Oklahoma two young men have been sentenced to 10 years in prison and to \$5,000 fine under a State law which forbids advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government, and you say—

one without proof of anything except membership in the Communist Party, the other without proof of anything except possession of Communist literature.

Dr. WATSON. I believe those sentences have since been overruled by the State court, have they not?

Representative KEEFE. I don't know. This article refers to the passage of legislation by the Congress striking Communists off the pay roll of W. P. A., and so on, and referring to a general provision that is contained in all appropriation bills passed by the House.

Who asked you to sign this?

Dr. WATSON. I don't remember.

Representative KEEFE. Do you remember when you signed it?

Dr. WATSON. No; I don't. The exhibit seems to have been dated in March of 1941, so I suppose it was in the spring of 1941.

Representative KEEFE. You do not know whether you were invited to sign it by letter or by personal interview or by telephone call?

Dr. WATSON. Almost surely by letter, Congressman. The usual procedure in all these 16 different organizational activities that have been mentioned in connection with these charges has been that a piece of literature accompanied by a letter comes to me along with a large assortment of mail. I look it over, and if it seems to me to be the kind of an enterprise that is moving in a direction that I want to support, I sign it and send it back. Usually that is the last I hear of it. Some of those that turned up here have been quite a surprise to me, because I had forgotten having any activity along that line. I do remember this at the time the statement went out.

Major ALLEN. Doctor, were any of them who signed that paper known Communists?

Dr. WATSON. I am informed by the Dies committee that some people whom they regard as Communists signed that petition. I do not recognize any name here as a person who has been a recognized Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know most of the signers personally or by reputation?

Dr. WATSON. I should think that probably one-third of them would be known to me personally or by reputation.

Representative KEEFE. I have no other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, the seventeenth charge against you made by the Dies committee involves exhibits from 36 to 55, inclusive, and this is the charge that appears of record:

Exhibits 36 and 37 are photostats of an article entitled "Youth and New America" which appeared in Common Sense magazine of July 1934. On exhibit 37 the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of those persons who provided leadership for the organization known as New America.

Exhibits 38 to 49, inclusive, are photostats of the official program of the organization which was known as New America.

Exhibits 50 to 55, inclusive, are photostats of a typewritten memorandum sent out from the national headquarters of New America by the organization's chairman, Harry F. Ward.

A reading of the program of New America and the memorandum of its chairman, Harry Ward, is all the proof necessary to establish the extremely radical and revolutionary character of New America.

Goodwin Watson delivered addresses on behalf of this revolutionary organization, New America, in widely scattered parts of the United States.

I suggest, Doctor, that you take those charges, together with exhibits 36 to 55, inclusive, and make such answer to the charges as you wish to make.

Dr. WATSON. New America is one of the 2, among the 16 organizations listed in these charges, with which I had an important and active connection. I think it is entirely proper that I should be

examined with reference to it. The other one was the Consumers Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, right there: Would you be able to furnish us with the constitution and bylaws of the organization?

Dr. WATSON. I am sure I could. I do not have it here, but I could get it in the course of a week.

The CHAIRMAN. When you became a member of it were you familiar with its bylaws and its constitution?

Dr. WATSON. I helped to get them drafted.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you supply the committee with a copy of them?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir; I will be glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. A copy of the bylaws and what purported to be the constitution.

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir. Please proceed.

Dr. WATSON. In 1933 I came back from a visit to Germany after Hitler had come into power. I felt that America was in very real danger; that some such movement would grow up in this country, because we were still very deep down in the depression, producing only about half of the goods and services that our economic capacity would have made possible. New America was an attempt to provide an alternative for young people in this country, not the Socialist Party, not the Communist Party, not complacent with things as they are that seemed to have been represented too much by the older parties at that time. It was essentially American in its ideals and attitude and practices and it had one goal, which was to introduce scientific planning of our economic life under democratic political controls.

The organization attracted two types of person: Idealistic young people, teachers, workers, middle-class people, business people, and what I would call tired radicals who had been Socialists or Communists or fellow travelers at one time or another, and who felt that here was something fresh and new that had more hope than the organizations that they had seen in the past.

Gradually there developed in the policy council of New America, of which I was a member, a struggle and a cleavage between those two groups.

Representative KEEFE. Why do you not, right at the start, so as to save time later on, tell us a little bit more about the formation of the organization, how you went to work and whom you solicited and who joined with you and who the authors were?

Dr. WATSON. My first activity was to make a speech before the students of New College at Teachers College to see what their response would be. A number of students and faculty members who heard me wanted to cooperate with me. I invited them and some other friends to my home to discuss it. This was a little organization at that time called Forward America. Someone told us of another organization, started before ours, called Young America, headed by a young man named Ellston, in which the most active person certainly was Richard Storrs Childs.

We met together and decided that our purposes were enough alike to permit amalgamation and the formation of New America as an organization. At that time they brought into New America with them

not only Childs, whom I have mentioned, but Mr. Ellston and two or three others, members of the policy council, including Harry S. Ward and Thomas Wright. Thomas Wright was the pastor of a Congregational church in New Jersey. Mr. Ward is professor of Christian ethics—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). He was the man who was president of the American League for Peace and Democracy at that time?

Dr. WATSON. I don't think it was called that at that time—and I don't think he was president.

Representative KEEFE. American League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. WATSON. If it was organized then. Do you know when it was organized? I do not.

Representative KEEFE. It may be that he was not president at that time.

Dr. WATSON. In any case, he is the same man who was associated actively with the American League.

The cleavage to which I referred represented a split between Ward and Wright on the one hand, and myself, with some of the other members who agreed with me that the kind of approach we wanted to make was a thoroughly idealistic one, to the opportunities which could be offered in the future by scientific planning under democratic control. The other people accepted the objective of scientific planning under democratic control and felt that the methods used ought to be those of the traditional radical Marxist parties, and the lining up of the workers and the development of a protest organization and activities of a sort that seemed to me to be essentially negative. They wanted to attack and I wanted to construct something. The cleavage became so sharp that I dropped out of the work of the organization late in 1937 and resigned from it entirely in the summer of 1938.

The charge suggests that I spoke widely for it. I am sure that is a mistake. I conducted a series of discussions on New American ideals and democratic methods of leadership, in New York City, under the auspices of New America, at Union Methodist Church.

So far as I know, those are the only talks that I gave under the auspices of New America; but I was active in representing them, although speaking on other lines.

The CHAIRMAN. After you disagreed with Ward, and the cleavage occurred, did you make any further speeches or pursue any activities with reference to this organization?

Dr. WATSON. The only activity that I pursued was after Ward dropped out and New America changed its policy council again, and I met once at my apartment with leaders of the revised New America who were following the line which the organization carried in more recent years. I did not feel that it was likely to be very effective and I did not accept their invitation to come back and work with them again, from that point on.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you active in this organization?

Dr. WATSON. From 1934 to 1937-38. Exhibits 50 to 55 were prepared after I left the organization, and I never saw them until they were shown me in connection with work of the Dies Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any reference to you in exhibits 50 to 55 at all?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibits 50 to 55 are photostats of a typewritten memorandum sent out from the national headquarters of New America by the organization's chairman, Harry F. Ward. You say they were sent out after you had severed your connection with their activities?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you to say about the other exhibits?

Dr. WATSON. I am proud of my activity as an American citizen to try to meet our state of economic depression in the early 30's by an organization whose objectives have since been taken up by our Government and by responsible business and social leaders so that the thing we were trying to do then in large measure is being done, it seems to me, by such groups as Fortune Magazine group and the National Planning Association, of which Mr. William Datt is chairman, and other groups who are trying to make this scientific planning, preserving democratic controls. I wish it could have been done at that time.

Representative KEEFE. You wish what could have been done?

Dr. WATSON. That this planning process which is now under way, under the post war planning, could have been begun more actively by Government, business, farm, labor, and education groups 10 years ago.

Representative KEEFE. Exhibit 33 is the front page of the pamphlet entitled "New America, Its Goal and Program." Then follows a statement entitled "The Need." Then follows a statement of the "Goal," and then follows a discussion entitled "Methods." Then follows a statement headed "Guiding Principles," running down to and including exhibit 38.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. In these exhibits 38 to 48, inclusive, are set forth the need for this organization, its goal, its principles and its plan, and so on?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Which you subscribed to?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did you write it?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Did you collaborate in the writing of this statement?

Dr. WATSON. No. I think I was given a completed copy of it before it was published, but I had no immediate collaboration in writing it.

Representative KEEFE. Who did write it?

Dr. WATSON. I presume it was written by Dr. Ward, but I am not sure.

Representative KEEFE. In any event, you approved it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you still approve it?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. This was issued at what time?

Dr. WATSON. In 1933 or 1934.

Representative KEEFE. You approved it down to the principles set forth in these exhibits?

Dr. WATSON. At least in a general way. I approved what the organization was trying to do. I disapproved of some of the forms of expression, but only as one member of a group which I could not completely influence.

Representative KEEFE. You were listed as one of the members of the advisory committee; were you not?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And in exhibit 37, which apparently is an article entitled "Youth and New America," by Selden Rodman, appears this statement which was also published in Common Sense Magazine [reading]:

Since its inception, New America has profited by the services and leadership of such men as Dr. Thomas H. Wright, Richard Storrs Childs, Thomas R. Amlic, Goodwin Watson, professor of psychology at Teachers College, and Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Who was Richard Storrs Childs?

Dr. WATSON. Publisher of the Modern Age.

Representative KEEFE. Who was Dr. Thomas H. Wright?

Dr. WATSON. Pastor of a church in New Jersey.

Representative KEEFE. Is he a "fellow traveler"?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Are you sure?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You are not sure?

Dr. WATSON. No; I am not sure. I would not regard him as a "fellow traveler."

Representative KEEFE. How would you regard Thomas R. Amlic?

Dr. WATSON. No; I think all of these men mentioned, with the possible exception of Dr. Ward, represented indigenous American radicalism.

Representative KEEFE. "Indigenous American radicalism"; that is a good phrase—that is a \$64 phrase. I am glad to get that description.

Were you interested as one of the founders, or were you interested in its program?

Dr. WATSON. Very much.

Representative KEEFE. And the need and the goal, and so on, as expressed here, you subscribed to at that time?

Dr. WATSON. In a general way.

Representative KEEFE. Did you not go over it carefully?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I was not in position to make this an expression of my personal views completely. One who works with organizations and appears on public platforms sometimes finds phrases that he would prefer to change. As a loyal group member you cannot always have your own way.

Representative KEEFE. In this statement in exhibit 39 appear these words [reading]:

The cause of their confusion and impotence is also the cause of their increasing misery—the traditional profit economy which is without plan or purpose except to put the ultimate direction of society into the hands of the most successful money makers. The American people have had their heritage taken away from them, and they are now being denied their future, by the profit system. Through its increasing waste of both our natural and human resources, its gradual destruction of its foreign trade and investment, this system has nearly exhausted the possible purchasing power upon which it depends for profit.

And so on. Then this appears [reading]:

Without definite mandate from the American people, without any clear understanding of what is involved even by those who are directing the process, this Nation has passed from the era of private capitalism into a period of state capitalism. The profit system, unable any longer to operate on its own power, is now being kept going only by state subsidy. This is the economic essence of Fascism.

Did you believe that at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You still do?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. When did you change your mind?

Dr. WATSON. In the latter part of the 30's.

Representative KEEFE. At the time this organization put out this statement you were firmly convinced that the New Deal was applying a gradualist policy of attempting to inject life into the profit system through Federal grants to W. P. A., the A. A. A., and all these other things, and represented the last dying convulsions of a decadent system of capitalism, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. And you felt at that time that the profit motive was something that would have to be completely eliminated if we were to build a new society that would ultimately spread benefits to all of the people?

Dr. WATSON. No; I must make two distinctions at that point, if I may. One is between the profit motive and the profit system. A profit motive I think we will always have. I think people will work for the things that get them ahead. The profit motive operates in public education, with school teachers in the class wanting to get ahead, and all that sort of thing. I have never attacked the profit motive, and I think it would be silly to do so. I had in mind the fact that regardless of how much people might want something, regardless of how many materials there might be to help them to produce, regardless of the willingness of people to work, they were not permitted to work unless some owner could make a profit in the process. That system seemed to us to stand in the way of any effective planning.

Representative KEEFE. You say, further in this article, and I quote:

Here, as in Italy and Germany, the vast powers of the state are being used in the attempt to revive a dying profit system. The inevitable outcome is a greater concentration of ownership, increased power to the inner circle of financiers, a lessening of the resistance of labor, a lower standard of living for most of the population.

You believed that in 1933 and 1934?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You have since changed your mind, you say?

Dr. WATSON. That is right. I think there were developments in the state subsidy that you mention that we were carrying out at that time and which we are carrying out now. We have not solved the problem yet.

Representative KEEFE. You further stated this—and this is a group that you were associated with and which you approved, you said, at the time this was issued:

The course which this Nation is now pursuing leads to a long period of extended undernourishment and almost universal underdevelopment, either under the present political control, or if that breaks down, under a more rigid and repressive form of fascism controlled by the reactionaries and directed more completely in their interest. The only other alternative is the rapid education of the American people for a twofold task—the destruction of the profit system, and the inauguration of a new social order. This Nation has now to choose between increasing break down and the struggle for a new society based upon a planned economy which will scientifically adjust production and distribution to the measured needs and the chosen values of all the people.

You believed that in 1933 and 1934?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you claim that you do not believe it now?

Dr. WATSON. That is right. Congressman, in the interests of time, could we not agree that this represented a proposal for a radical social change in our economic system?

Representative KEEFE. No; I want to go through a few of these things.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. This article further says:

Because of the complex and sensitive nature of our economic life, because also of the powerful opposition to basic change and its opportunities for sabotage, it is necessary to make the transition from the profit system to a planned and controlled social economy as quickly as possible, when once the necessary preparations have been made and the necessary consent secured. The attempt to change capitalism into a social economy by gradual steps is economically impossible because of the increasing break down involved and the increasing opposition generated. The recent history of England and Germany also shows that such a policy is politically futile. The change to a new order must be adequately prepared for, but it must then be speedy and thorough.

What did you mean by that?

Dr. WATSON. Exactly what it says, Congressman.

Representative KEEFE. All right. That is what it said. You felt at that time that a policy of gradualism would never attain the objectives of a new social order?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And that it had to be done by a quick and decisive breaking off from the so-called profit system to the new social order?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Did that involve revolution?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. How do you know?

Dr. WATSON. It is perfectly possible to introduce another system of economic operation, once that is understood and desired by the American people, in an entirely legal and pacific manner. There is nothing in what you have read that in any sense implies the overthrow of government or any illegal action of any sort. One of the basic principles requires that democratic controls operate at all points. That does not, however, modify the statement which you have read which shows that the change ought to be as quick as possible in order to reduce the maladjustment of the period in which people did not know which way to move. I do not agree with that now, but I am explaining my viewpoint at the time.

Representative KEEFE. That is a matter that we will judge later. But at least back in 1933 and 1934, when this organization was functioning and you helped to organize it, that was a thing that you believed in?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And at that time the New Deal, so called, was in power in both Houses of Congress?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Legislation was being passed as demanded by the President, right along, day after day, without very much difficulty, was it not?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative KEEFE. And still you felt that a change to the social order which you were advocating could not be accomplished under those auspices?

Dr. WATSON. No; I would say that it could not be accomplished by those methods.

Representative KEEFE. To show your attitude, I refer again back to some of the statements you made after your trip to Europe, when you wrote these articles for the New Frontier, in which you described the situation in Austria and stated that those Socialists over there had actually done the things which F. D. R. was talking about.

Dr. WATSON. But they didn't work.

Representative KEEFE. What didn't work?

Dr. WATSON. The Austrian Socialist System collapsed. The article was directed to the point that the attempt to do that sort of thing had failed.

Representative KEEFE. You say that some place along in the course of the New Deal you decided to abandon this philosophy and adopt some other philosophy; is that right?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You repudiated the statements and philosophy and objectives which it has been indicated were yours in 1933 and 1934?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. When did you repudiate them?

Dr. WATSON. In the late thirties.

Representative KEEFE. 1939, 1940, or 1938?

Dr. WATSON. 1938.

Representative KEEFE. How did you repudiate them?

Dr. WATSON. By a change in the nature of my writings, teachings, and discussions.

Representative KEEFE. Did you ever denounce this organization at that time?

Dr. WATSON. It was not necessary to denounce it; it was dying.

Representative KEEFE. It was not dead yet, was it, in 1938?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. When did it die?

Dr. WATSON. The last gasp was in 1940, I guess; I am not sure.

Representative KEEFE. In exhibit 42 you state the goal of this organization to be this, and I quote:

The abolition of the profit system; the elimination of its incentives and habits, the legal forms and concepts by which it supports and the ideas by which it justifies capitalistic society.

The inauguration of a thoroughly planned and organized social economy which will apply all our natural and human resources directly to the meeting of human needs, in pursuit of values democratically chosen—

and so forth.

Did you believe that at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Have you abandoned that philosophy now?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. When did you abandon that philosophy?

Dr. WATSON. It seems to me a repetition of your previous question, Congressman. It was in the late thirties, I would say.

Representative KEEFE. Was there anything in the New Deal attitude which indicated that they were going to be able to deal with this problem along lines that you wanted them to deal with it, that caused you to abandon this philosophy?

Dr. WATSON. It was partly the growing success of the New Deal, but I think, more largely, the changing attitude of business and the growing insight which I found among business and financial leaders into the need for just the kind of planning that seemed to me to be required.

Representative KEEFE. You did not find any great number of business and industrial leaders that believed in the abolition of the profit system, did you?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Or the abolition of capitalism?

Dr. WATSON. No. But the point, Congressman, is that they were planning full production and full employment, which was the goal of New America. We thought at that time we had to do it by changing the economic system. We decided, or I decided, at any rate, that it was unnecessary.

Representative KEEFE. Was there anything up to 1938 that would indicate the adoption of any plans to provide for the employment of the people of this country?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. My recollection is that 1938 was about the depth of things, so far as agriculture in this country was concerned. Prices were away down below what they were in 1932 and 1933, and farm foreclosures were dragging more people off the farms in my State in 1938 than at any other time in the thirty's. What was there in that picture that would convince you in 1938 that you should abandon this philosophy which you carried along from 1933 to 1936?

Dr. WATSON. If you will look at the figures for the national income of the United States you will find them rising from the low point of 1932 on through 1933 and 1934, rising more rapidly in 1935, 1936, and 1937, dropping slightly in 1938, and continuing their rise in 1939. That is, the process of recovery was well under way. At the time this document that you are reading was written it seemed very doubtful whether such a recovery would take place, and some of us were trying to prepare an American plan of meeting the situation—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). That is the very thing which you castigated. You called attention to the fact that we were coming into a state of capitalism in which the Government itself was responsible for pouring out the money that brought about its recovery.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. And that is the very thing which you condemned in this same article.

Dr. WATSON. That is only partially true. The Government was participating, but people were also participating and business groups were active. Take the Fortune Round-Tables of that year. I do not remember them now, but I remember I was reading them.

Representative KEEFE. The profit system is either good or it is bad. Capitalism is either good or it is bad. By your writings and by your books and by your attitudes right down to 1938 I have not seen anything to the contrary yet. You have advocated the abolition of the profit system and you have distinguished between the profit system and the profit motive. You have advocated a change in the capitalistic system to do away with the profit system, and you have attributed all of our troubles to that sort of thing. I cannot conceive how you can say that you have disabused your mind of those attitudes, just because there seems to have been a little increase in the national income when we are still committed in this country to an industrial capitalistic system and a system which is based upon the profit motive plus a profit system. Do I understand you to say that you no longer advocate the abolition of capitalism or the abolition of the profit system?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; but may I add this—

Representative KEEFE. Have you written any book?

The CHAIRMAN. He wanted to add something.

Representative KEEFE. Oh. Pardon me.

Dr. WATSON. I wanted to add something.

Representative KEEFE. All right.

Dr. WATSON. There were at that time American citizens numbering, I suppose, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, who shared that view. One can have a view with which you might profoundly disagree, with which business leaders might profoundly disagree, and still be a loyal American citizen capable of holding public office.

Representative KEEFE. That is argument purely and simply.

Dr. WATSON. No. I do not want the impression on the record that any defense that I am making here rests on the idea that I have changed my mind. Although I think it is interesting, it is not of the essence of the issue. The essence of the issue which I would like to defend today is that if citizens believe that our democracy, by its local forms and methods, can be used or should be used to introduce economic changes, small or great, they have every right to that opinion and to activity in that connection. And some of your remarks raise a question in my mind as to whether you agree and accept the notion that American citizens have the right to express themselves freely about our economic system and about changes in it, large or small.

Representative KEEFE. So that there may be no mistake about my attitude—and I know you fellows are capable of making conclusions and you have come to conclusions and publicized them—may I state to you that I have at all times and still do believe in our constitutional system of government which guarantees to you and to everyone else the right to stand out here on the corner and, so long as you do not commit a breach of the peace, advocate any social or economic theory or change which you see fit to advocate, and I will protect you in that right.

Dr. WATSON. I thought you would, Congressman.

Representative KEEFE. Definitely so. I could not be brought up in the atmosphere that I was brought up in politically in Wisconsin and not have that attitude. But that does not mean, may I state, that I am going to tolerate the advocacy of a program of revolutionary activity nor permit you to stand up and advocate revolution in this country as contrasted to the accepted constitutional method of obtaining social objectives.

Dr. WATSON. I agree entirely.

Representative KEEFE. The difference between myself and the old liberal attitude of liberals who have gone and who would now be classed as reactionaries, is that I believe in the attainment of social objectives through statutory and constitutional methods.

Dr. WATSON. So did New America.

Representative KEEFE. Many people with whom you have been associated have been unwilling to admit the possibility of attainment of those objectives through constitutional and statutory means and have advocated their attainment by revolutionary processes. That is where I draw the line. Do you think I am very reactionary when I draw the line at that point?

Dr. WATSON. I agree with you entirely. My position has never been any different from what you have stated.

Representative KEEFE. You are an employee of this Government, are you not?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You are not an elected official?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. You have no property rights in the position which you hold?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. As a result of acquiring it through the suffrage of the people?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Did you believe in the abolition of the profit system in 1924?

Dr. WATSON. I cannot be sure, Congressman.

Representative KEEFE. When did you graduate from the University of Wisconsin?

Dr. WATSON. In 1920.

Representative KEEFE. You believed in the abolition of the profit system, did you not?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. When did you first adopt that attitude?

Dr. WATSON. I think I did not come to the conviction that a profit system would have to be fundamentally changed until 1931, 1932, or 1933, in the depth of the valley of our economic depression. I had always registered as a Republican in Wisconsin and in my days in Colorado. I had no contact or activity with any Socialist organization.

Representative KEEFE. The goal of this organization, as expressed in this literature and as shown by exhibit 42 is, among other things, as follows [reading]:

Eliminate private ownership in the means of production and distribution wherever such private ownership interferes with the success of a planned social economy; make profit, rent, and interest both unnecessary and impossible.

Did you believe that in 1933 and 1934?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Do you still believe it?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. If I understand your present attitude, Dr. Watson, it is that you believe in a planned economy?

Dr. WATSON. No; I believe in economic planning, which seems to me to be a different thing, because a planned economy is something that some little group up at the top, perhaps, has put together. At least that is the connotation it gives to my mind. I believe planning has become increasingly necessary in order to leave room for private industry and private enterprise.

Representative KEEFE. Would the corollary of that statement be true, that unless there be economic planning there would not be any room for private enterprise or private initiative?

Dr. WATSON. It would be very difficult for private enterprise to operate unless there is planning. Our economic order is too complex.

Representative KEEFE. The whole basis and purpose of this plan as you announced it in 1933 and 1934, as shown by the exhibits referred to, were to provide, of course, a better life for the people as you conceived it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; and as they conceived it, because we wanted a democratic control on what should be done.

Representative KEEFE. Now, the methods, as shown by exhibits 43 and 44—and I quote:

New America seeks:

To unite the people whose economic interest and social necessity requires them to replace capitalistic society with the new order. These people are the majority groups that carry on the essential processes of society—the farmers, the industrial and distributive workers, and the professions—

and so forth.

Without an organization that effectively unites these groups, the change cannot be made—by any means. When the economic break-down sufficiently destroys the security of these groups, enough of them can be united in a common interest to destroy the old order and build a new one which is stronger than the sectional interests that now separate them. Then there emerges a sufficient force to overcome the resistance of those who, aided by such of the farmers, industrial and distributive workers, and professional workers as they can terrorize or deceive, will resist to the last ditch the overthrow of the system which now gives them the ownership of the greater part of the national wealth. That conquering, transforming force will never emerge without the leadership of an organization to train, educate, and mobilize it.

That was the purpose of this organization—to train and educate for those objectives?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I think, in fairness, you should read the last paragraph.

Representative KEEFE. You mean, the last sentence in that same paragraph?

Dr. WATSON. No [reading]:

To prepare the people thus united to win the coming struggle for power by securing a mandate through democratic processes—

and so forth.

Representative KEEFE. That is not in this paragraph that I read from.

Dr. WATSON. The general heading is in the words "New America Seeks." The next paragraph beginning with capital letters is:

To prepare the people thus united to win the coming struggle for power by securing a mandate through democratic processes from a sufficient working majority of the population to end the profit system—

Representative KEEFE (reading):

to inaugurate a planned economy directed to the above ends, and to make whatever changes in existing institutions and enact whatever measures are necessary to accomplish this result.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You still believe that, don't you?

Dr. WATSON. I still believe in the use of the democratic method; yes. I do not believe it should be used for the ends we had in mind at that time. Well, the ends are all right, too, but I do not think it is as necessary to make as fundamental a change as we thought it was at that time.

I think we are laboring this point a little bit. It seems to me that all this brings out the same point, that 10 years ago I thought a profound economic change was necessary, but wanted to accomplish it by democratic methods.

Representative KEEFE. Of course, Dr. Watson, in my thinking, at least, I propose to trace your thinking as expressed in your writings down to date, to ascertain just where that change took place and whether it really has taken place.

Dr. WATSON. Is it your contention that if it has not taken place and if I believe in economic change through democratic methods I am an inferior citizen?

Representative KEEFE. No. I would not say that.

Dr. WATSON. Disqualified from holding any public office?

Representative KEEFE. I do not want to be interrogated myself at this time. I have made my position clear to you before, I think.

Dr. WATSON. Not on that point, Congressman. Of course, you have no obligation to do so, but it troubles me that anybody should take such a position.

Representative KEEFE. On exhibit 45 appears this statement:

New America springs from American needs, continues the American Revolutionary tradition and plans to realize the American dream of equalitarian social democracy by utilizing to that end all our present resources and capacities. While it will use and adapt to the American scene whatever is available in the revolutionary experiment, it will express itself in the American idiom and will abandon the stereotyped phrases coined in the bygone era of a scarcity economy.

New America will strive to develop a planned national economy as a participating unit in a later cooperative world economy directed to the same ends it seeks here. The national economy will be as self-sustaining as conditions necessitate, securing necessary imports by mutual exchange. In a world in which capitalism increasingly finds foreign trade impossible and socialism is being built on a national base in the Soviet Union as the quickest way to world revolution by the force of its example, no other tactic is practicable.

Just what did you mean by that sentence?

Dr. WATSON. The heading of the paragraph you were reading is a guiding principle called nationalism, and the issue was, Shall we plan as a part of an international economy, or shall we plan as a national self-sustaining unit? And the argument was that we must be nationally self-sustaining, with a small amount of mutual exchange and not try to extend our planning to include other nations. The

only tactic possible seemed to be that of national self-sufficiency, planning for the United States as a unit, not for the United States as a world unit.

Representative KEEFE. Let me read on:

Yet Chauvinistic and racial nationalism must be avoided by maintaining all possible contacts with, and by emphasizing our willingness to cooperate with, all similar movements elsewhere; and by regarding our fortunate position in the matter of natural resources and technical development as an historic trust to be administered in the interests of abolishing capitalism throughout the world and replacing it with a world-wide creative society.

That was the purpose, was it not, of this organization, clearly expressed in the sentence which I have just read?

Dr. WATSON. We had hoped that the same thing could be done throughout the world; yes, with planning to be begun and to be carried on in the United States as an example, first; yes.

Representative KEEFE. Under the paragraph entitled "Interpenetrating Incentives," I quote:

New America will use and develop the two general incentives of self-interest and idealism that are interwoven throughout the whole of life. Against the system that is now destroying humanity and making impossible the unfolding of human capacities, it will direct the force of hate and the destruction that removes obstacles in order to build.

What did you mean by that?

Dr. WATSON (reading):

In behalf of the new order it will enlist and develop the creative force of sympathy for human need and the love of the ideal.

What do you think people's hatred was best directed against in Germany? It was against the Jews. In Russia it was against the rich. New America's answer was, "Let it be against the system."

Representative KEEFE. The capitalistic system and the profit system?

Dr. WATSON. That stood in their way; yes.

Representative KEEFE. In other words, you tried to create the same forces of hate that were utilized by Hitler against the Jews as a means of power; you would capitalize those same emotions of hate to build up a feeling of resentment against the profit system and the capitalistic system. Is that what I understand you to mean?

Dr. WATSON. I am afraid not.

Representative KEEFE. All right. Then I do not understand the English language.

Dr. WATSON. You suggest that we would create or call forth that hatred. That was not the idea.

Representative KEEFE. Your contention is that the hate is already there?

Dr. WATSON. The hate is already there, and that you better direct it against a system which people find standing in their way, rather than against groups or persons.

Representative KEEFE. In other words, a person who is unfortunate, who is the victim of an unfortunate governmental practice or an economic philosophy, hates something or hates somebody and often gives expression to that hate—then your idea is that you would centralize that hate and direct it toward this system rather than against an individual or group of persons?

Dr. WATSON. That is a very fair statement.

Representative KEEFE. And that is what you planned to do as part of the program of New America?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You state, as shown in exhibit 47:

New America offers and strives to maintain an attitude of friendliness to other revolutionary groups that have the same general objectives, recognizing that honest criticism of each other's strategy and tactics is mutually beneficial and serves to clarify the present historic crisis before the people. It will cooperate in genuine united front movements designed to weaken capitalist society and to awaken the people to its dangers, especially the dangers of war and fascism. Its members are expected to leaven the labor, religious, and other organizations to which they belong.

That clearly needs no explanation, does it Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. The next paragraph is as follows:

New America will not expend its energies seeking reforms which prolong the profit system. It will neither demand nor accept half-way measures. It will only engage in activities to meet current needs when those activities are designed to weaken capitalistic society and the power of those who control it.

That needs no explanation, does it?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE (continuing reading):

It will use its influence to keep these conflicts from being waged solely for immediate gains within the profit system, and will endeavor to relate them always to the larger purpose of overthrowing that system and building the New America.

That is a fair statement that needs no further comment on your part?

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. Well, does it require comment?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. It speaks for itself, does it not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you being quoted?

Dr. WATSON. No; the program of New America is being quoted.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want it to appear of record that those are your statements?

Representative KEEFE. No. Those are the principles of New America which you participated in, and this is the program of which you approved in 1933 and 1934.

Dr. WATSON. In a general way.

Representative KEEFE. And which you now say in the same general way you disapprove?

Dr. WATSON. I will make it more specific if you wish.

Representative KEEFE. In exhibit 48 appears this statement:

New America does not follow the traditional political pattern. It subordinates and directs political action to the conquest of economic power by the masses in order that they may build a new society. Therefore it reserves its political drive until it appears probable that a mandate for a new economic order can be secured, or the resort to direct action by the reactionaries makes other tactics necessary. It will not take office to reform the profit system, only to abolish it. Meantime, if and when it participates in the election system, it will do so in order to expose, protest against, and weaken the profit system and the power of those who control it.

Did you agree with that philosophical-political statement appearing in this exhibit, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. Do I now agree?

Representative KEEFE. Did you agree with it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. In that respect, then, you would agree with those Communists who advise their members to get into public positions because they would be more beneficial to the movement within public position than to remain outside?

Dr. WATSON. No. I see no relation between that and this statement. Perhaps I had better tell you what it means to me, what I thought New America meant to say about its political action. Socialist groups in Milwaukee and Reading and Bridgeport have taken office and given fairly satisfactory municipal administration. The question was, Should New America follow such an example? The answer was in this statement—"No"; our interest is not in that kind of reform. It is in a program which can change the economic base of the organization of the country.

Representative KEEFE. I understand that. Your statement is perfectly clear, that those who were following this policy, of which you were one, in 1933 and 1934 did not intend to go out and run for office or take office with the idea that you were going to reform the profit system, but you were going to let everybody know that you were out to destroy it and that it would have to be destroyed fundamentally as a basis for the other reforms which you sought. Is not that true?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And that is what was said here?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you approved it at that time?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You say again that you do not believe that now?

Dr. WATSON. True.

Representative KEEFE. You think these objectives can be achieved by a process of gradualism?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And that the profit system can be reformed?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you believe it should be reformed?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. It is changing all the time.

Representative KEEFE. I think there is plenty of room for reformation along many lines.

Are you making speeches now?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. When did you make your last public speech?

Dr. WATSON. At Teachers College, about a month ago. It was a report on my trip to England.

Representative KEEFE. Did you ever write a monograph or an article at any time when you finally concluded that this program of New America would have to be disavowed? Did you every publicly disavow it as such and come out and state "This program that I sponsored and supported in the years 1933, 1934, and 1935, and 1936, as set forth in its program, I disavow?"

Dr. WATSON. I have said essentially that to classes. I have never published any statement of that sort. I think it is necessary, Congressman, to see how incidental my contact with such programs and organizations was in my main work. I published 10 books and monographs. None of them deals with the problem; not a sentence from any of them is cited in this investigation. My main line of work has been outside this field. I have occasionally been able to make some little contribution; but all of these statements stated in all of these exhibits come from a handful, not more than 2 percent, of the total number of publications, and probably less than half of 1 percent of the total number of pages of the things that I have been doing. If my interests were primarily in political economy and social reform, and that was what I were writing and speaking about, it would be very easy to say, "You wrote a book on this side of the question, and you changed your mind and wrote a book on this side of the question." But I never did write a book on either side of the question. That has been very much of a minor sideline.

Representative KEEFE. You have stated that these pronouncements that I have read represented your thought, your opinion, and your views up to the time you changed in 1938 or 1939, or in the late 30's, as you put it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. Those were my views.

Representative KEEFE. There is an article that was published and sent out over the country by New America, an organization which gave voice to certain alleged idealism in government and certain social objectives, how to attain them, and so forth, and it evidently attracted a number of people; and yet, after you yourself became convinced that that philosophy was wrong, there nowhere appears anything of equal character disavowing it.

Dr. WATSON. The organization obviously would not put it out. This was a publication of the organization.

Representative KEEFE. Is the organization still in existence?

Dr. WATSON. No; it went out of existence.

Representative KEEFE. Has it been taken over by the last organization that was formed, the Union for Democratic Action?

Dr. WATSON. No. It had no connection.

Representative KEEFE. Do you belong to it?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you stated you had published 10 books in reference to political and economic reform. In any of those 10 books have you ever advocated the overthrow of the American form of government, the Government of the United States?

Dr. WATSON. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you at this point in the examination hand to the reporter a list of those books?

Dr. WATSON. A list, Mr. Chairman, is in the memorandum that I submitted at the beginning, and a brief description of each of those books.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you said that you graduated in 1920; is that right?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How old were you then?

Dr. WATSON. I was 20. I am 43 now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever since your graduation supported the Communist Party at the general election or any other election?

Dr. WATSON. I never have supported the Communist Party in any election.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you voted in our national elections?

Dr. WATSON. Whenever I was in my home and was able to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object to telling us what party you supported?

Dr. WATSON. I have been an independent voter. I supported the Republican Party, first; then the Democratic Party, and in the last few years I have been registered as a member of the American Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you told us about that.

At this point I call your attention to title 18, section 10, page 1515, of the United States Code, which is a statute which has recently been passed with reference to subversive activities.

Did you ever knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence?

Dr. WATSON. I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute, or publicly display any written or printed matter advocating or advising or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence?

Dr. WATSON. I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever organize or help to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force or violence, or become a member of or affiliated with any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purpose thereof?

Dr. WATSON. I never have.

Major ALLEN. I would like to ask the Doctor a question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Major ALLEN. Doctor, you need not answer this if you do not care to. I would like to know if you are associated or affiliated with any religious organization or church.

Dr. WATSON. I am an ordained minister of the Methodist Church.

Major ALLEN. Then, of course, you believe in God?

Dr. WATSON. I do.

Major ALLEN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 2:30 this afternoon. (Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The special subcommittee met in the Capitol, at 2:30 p. m., pursuant to recess.)

Present: Representatives Kerr (chairman of the special subcommittee), Gore, Powers, and Keefe.

Present also: Maj. Matt. H. Allen, counsel to the special subcommittee; R. E. Lambert, clerk of the special subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON, CHIEF OF THE ANALYSIS DIVISION, FOREIGN BROADCAST INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN: We now take up No. 18 of the charges against Dr. Watson; and, Dr. Watson, in support of this charge we have photostats of an article, designated exhibits 56, 57, and 58. The description of the exhibits reads as follows:

Photostats of an article entitled "The Great Choice" which appeared in Common Sense magazine of August 1934.

The aforementioned article by Goodwin Watson has as its main thesis the support of the Communist view of sudden and sweeping revolution as opposed to the socialist view of gradual transformation of society.

Goodwin Watson has objected to the quotation of isolated sentences or passages from this article on the ground that such quotation wrests the passage from its context and therefore alters its meaning. A careful reading of the article in its entirety leaves an impression of a more radical and revolutionary viewpoint than a reading of any single sentence or passage from the article.

Now, sir, what have you to say against that charge or about that charge?

Dr. WATSON. The charge?

Representative GORE. Judge, may I see it?

(The document in question was handed to Representative Gore.)

Dr. WATSON. The charge refers, gentlemen, to the most radical and drastic article which I ever wrote, which I wrote 9 years ago, and it presents a viewpoint which I tried to explain when this was raised the other day, and again in connection with New America this morning: that there come times in the history of a social order, economic order, when a fresh start needs to be made on a fundamentally different principle.

As I have stated, I do not now believe it to be true, but I did believe it to be true at that time, and I thought that the halfway measures that were being taken were doing more harm than good. They were burdening businessmen who couldn't keep their businesses going, they were not substituting anything constructive and better, and this article argues, as said, for compete and thorough and fundamental change, but peaceful and legal. It argues that if you have got to make a change like that it is better to plan out the thing as a whole and substitute the whole new idea, instead of the business of gradually letting it grow.

Well, as I have watched the world in the last 10 years I have concluded that is not so. That was an academic idea that appealed to me at the time as necessary; I didn't see any other way. Now it looks to me as though any change that we have in this country is likely to be a normal process of growth and modification of our existing institutions, and as though any such inauguration of a new set of arrangements is, well, most unlikely, improbable, and wouldn't be desirable.

Representative POWERS. Doctor, have you honestly changed your viewpoint, or does the fact that you are here appearing before this

committee today and being questioned upon your fitness to remain on the public pay roll have a great bearing on the subject?

Dr. WATSON. Congressman, this change was apparent in my teaching at the college before I came to Washington at all. It was apparent in the speeches that I made. I made one for the National Hi-Y Boys' conference a year ago. I haven't developed it in articles or publications particularly, but my whole economic and political activity and writing and speaking since the fall of 1938, for example, when I came back after looking over what had happened in Europe, reflects the growth of the restoration of my confidence in our businessmen, in our business profit-enterprise system, and in the possibilities of gradual adjustment of whatever difficulties are arising in our economic life.

I still believe in planning. I think planning is a very desirable thing. I believe in getting all the people into it. But I do not believe in any such sweeping substitution of one economic order for another as was set forth in this article.

Representative POWERS. Doctor, it seems to me at one time, from your writings and from your connections, that nothing that I was ever taught to hold dear as being American was anything but repugnant to you.

Dr. WATSON. I am sorry, Congressman, if it seems that way, because it certainly hasn't been true. I have valued our American institutions, our schools, our Government, our laws, our physical resources consistently and always.

Take the speech on Americanism, a Resource, that I made here in Washington a few years ago to the Progressive Education Association. What was the burden of the whole speech? That the one thing we need to get us out of our difficulties is an insistence on the acquiescence of Americans, on the willingness to put some gumption into our social life. I was worried about people sitting back and waiting for some man on a white horse to ride in and solve problems for them. I felt we had to do it ourselves.

Now, that was long before any question arose here. The whole speech is an Americanism speech. I think you will find in that and in other things that I have written a very genuine faith in the religious and social and political values that you as an American hold dear, and the only reason—

Representative KEEFE [interposing]. Where is that speech, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. What?

Representative KEEFE. Pardon me. Where is that speech you refer to? Have you got a copy of it here?

Dr. WATSON. No; I don't have a copy of it here. There is a part of it in the Senate hearings. There is a part of it in the statement.

Representative KEEFE. Well, there are only just fragmentary parts of it.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not say that you put that speech, along with others, in the record, or you attached them as exhibits there?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I think I can find that speech and put it in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Do that, then.

Representative KEEFE. Well, I should like to see it now if you have it.

Dr. WATSON. If I have I will certainly give it to you. [After looking through papers.] No. I have two others that are high in praise of Americanism, but I don't have that particular one, but I can get it all right.

Representative KEEFE. Well, have you got one of the others there that is along the same lines? Let me see that.

Representative GORE. Doctor, you just said that you didn't believe in waiting for the man on the white horse; you thought we should solve our own problems. Now, in the light of that statement how did you think we could bring about the sharp break which you discussed in this article?

Dr. WATSON. My program for that was embodied in this New America movement which I was influential in trying to get started along that line. I thought that if we worked with people in study groups, to get them to understand our economic situation, what the possibilities of the future were, what our resources were, what kind of planning was necessary, that we would find a large enough majority so that eventually we could go ahead and provide the country with a program and say, "Let's carry out this big platform"—

Representative GORE (interposing). Well, now wait a minute.

Dr. WATSON. And get a mandate from the people.

Representative GORE. That would be a gradual process.

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative GORE. A process of evolution. But you say in this article that it is preferable to make a sharp break with the past.

Dr. WATSON. It is a break only in the sense, Congressman, that when you introduce your final program it hooks together and you put it all in as of a piece. Gradualism—I was not attacking the kind of gradualism that comes through education groups. No educator, I think, would be likely to believe that you could change people overnight. Certainly I never have been of the opinion that you could force on people or would want to force on people anything that they didn't understand and accept. I used the term "gradualism," or perhaps I should have called it opportunism; I meant this business of taking up a problem and passing a measure in one direction, and then a contradictory measure, creating new problems in attempting to solve old ones, as it looked to me in 1933 and 1934 that we were doing. It didn't seem to me that there was any clear plan of what the New Deal was moving toward.

Representative GORE. Now, you haven't said that in this article. I could much more easily overlook the appearance of a person's name as sponsor of some organization or some meeting, even though it may have been foolishly given—as I say, much more easily than I can overlook the signed writings which advocate a method of change which to me appears foreign to our system.

Dr. WATSON. If it seems to advocate a method which is illegal or violent or anything of that sort, I did not make clear my point, because I was talking about, and I said specifically, legal and peaceful methods; but I did mean, and in this New America program it is outlined pretty definitely, that the thing must be thought through as a whole, and a mandate must be secured from the people, and you can't do that until people have been educated. So the only thing New America ever did, for instance, was to conduct study groups of people

to get them to understand as well as they could what the issues involved were and what the economic potentialities of our society are and how those might better be utilized, how we could do a planning job.

Representative GORE. Well, now, I have done only a small amount of writing but enough to know that when an invitation comes to one to state their position in language strong enough in an effort to emphasize their points the point is sometimes overemphasized. I do not know that that is what you have done, but you certainly overemphasized your point if your point was what you have just said you interpret it to be.

Dr. WATSON. Well, that is what I meant, Congressman, and I think it was poorly written from the standpoint of conveying the whole picture of the program. I think it has to be seen in the context of my New America activity at the time.

Representative GORE. Now, you say here:

How is it with the present necessity to replace the broken-down profit system with one designed to produce and distribute all the goods and services the public can use

What did you mean as the system by which you would replace the profit system?

Dr. WATSON. I meant the proposal of New America for scientific planning under democratic control.

Representative GORE. I do not think that I want to question you at any length on this. I would say for the record that I am much more impressed with what a man says than I am by what letterhead his name may appear upon.

That is all, gentlemen.

Representative KEEFE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the record should show what the article really is in charge 18, exhibit 56. It is entitled, "The Great Choice: Reformation or Transformation?" "By Goodwin Watson". And evidently the editorial staff of this magazine put the following description of the article at the heading:

The average citizen thinks that the advocates of swift change by revolution are merely hotheaded. He may be aware of the tragedy which has stalked the footsteps of gradual reformers in Europe, but he is inclined to think that this country is different and that we move slowly by nature. In this article a well known professor of psychology shows that not only has graduation always failed in its attempt to uproot the profit system, but from the humanitarian and psychological points of view the methods of reformation are often inadequate. Nature, he points out, by no means always evolves. Nor need a rapid transformation be violent if well planned.

Then follows the article.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, if you want it to go in the record, we will mark the article exhibit A or B and let the article go in.

Representative GORE. Yes. Of course, also—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Of course, the headline will not go in.

Representative GORE. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. The headline will not go in the record.

Representative GORE. I think the title of the article should go in.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Now, there appears in the article this final statement, and I quote:

The fog is thick ahead and it is hard to see far. The messengers that return to us report that several vehicles have been wrecked on the broad highway to the right falling into a steep chasm called fascism which cuts across the highway not far from where we stand. Only Soviet Russia has gone up to the left, in an oxcart that was nearly wrecked before the trip started, but they report now that the road is growing better. Our machines are more powerful but more delicate than oxcarts. Can't we start the rough beginning if we prepare the road, the cars, the drivers, and the passengers?

Now, your idea at that time, when you wrote this article, was that you were engaged in the process of education, educating the American people through various organizations and through educational pamphlets and speeches and writings, to educate the American people up to this point where they would suddenly change this system and do away with the profit system and substitute something else for it? That is what you had in mind; wasn't it?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you thought that Soviet Russia had accomplished that, and that their road now was rapidly growing better even though they started out in an oxcart, as you say?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Now, then, you also stated in this article this:

Austria has recently given the final and devastating answer. What happened in the leading Socialist city of the world, whose public-housing projects have provoked admiration from all? The party rejected any sharp break with capitalism, and entered on a series of compromises. Loans were assumed with interest that could neither be paid nor repudiated. "Dollfuss is bad," said the leaders, "but nazism would be worse. We must hold to the lesser evil to protect us against the greater." Even when Dollfuss ordered the militant Socialist defense groups disarmed and disbanded the leaders said, "We must not act rashly. Better conform to this evil, than to run the risk of a worse." So step by step the gradualists were backed to the edge of a cliff and pushed off. The heroic 4-day defense of a hopeless cause was bitter evidence of a loyalty in the rank and file which had been worthy of a wiser strategy. Again a people learned in tragedy that there is no safe compromise with capitalism.

Now, I understand you to say, Doctor, that you no longer share those rather academic beliefs which you claim you espoused when you wrote this article and had it published in 1934.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. Now, I have rather hurriedly checked over the pamphlets which you have furnished me with, which you contended were of a character that could be interpreted as disavowing this program.

Dr. WATSON. No; I meant to offer those pamphlets in response to the Congressman's question as to whether I had expressed repugnance for things which Americans generally approved. I think that in general my faith in democracy and in group thinking and discussion, as presented in those articles, does run counter to this other, but it doesn't—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). Well, there is nothing in any of those articles or pamphlets that you have presented to me which in any way specifically repudiates the philosophy contained in this article, The Great Choice: Reformation or Transformation? and you have never at any time, as I understand it, written any article

for this or any other magazine of like character disavowing and repudiating the sentiment in this article which you wrote in 1934.

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. Is this magazine being still published?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Common Sense magazine?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. It would have been open to you at any time to write an article to disavow this philosophy had you seen fit to do so and thus reach the readers of that magazine; would it not?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative KEEFE. But you have not seen fit to do so, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. I have not done so.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

Representative POWERS. Doctor, is this magazine a magazine of the Communist Party?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. Was it in 1934 when you wrote this article?

Dr. WATSON. No; it had no connection with the Communist Party, never has had. It is edited by Alfred Bingham, who is a State senator in the State of Connecticut and the son of a senator.

Representative POWERS. It never had any connection with the Communist Party in 1934 and, as far as you know, never since?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. That is rather a startling prelude to your article. I am just wondering who on the editorial staff might have written that.

Representative KEEFE. Well, you saw the article when it was published; did you not?

Dr. WATSON. I did; yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you saw that statement by the editorial staff?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You made no objection to that appearing with the article as a fair interpretation of your article, did you?

Dr. WATSON. Well, I didn't see it until after it was published, but I made no objection. I don't know that I would have before.

Representative KEEFE. Well, it is a fair statement, isn't it?

Dr. WATSON. It is even more capable of misinterpretation than the article, because he talks about revolution rather than transformation when I really meant transformation, and I did not mean revolution.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you say that article was written by you in 1934.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say, or you have said, and said many times I think, in reference to this very matter, that you have changed your opinion about the philosophy of government from that enunciated in that article?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I would make it clear, however, that that article was not a suggestion that a government be overthrown. It was the proposal that when an economic change is made it be a complete and thorough one and not a partial and bit-by-bit one.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any further answer to make?

Dr. WATSON. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. If not, we shall go to charge 19. This charge embraces exhibits from 59 to 62, and is as follows:

Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "Initiative in Our New America" which was published in the Social Frontier of December 1934.

A reading of this article in its entirety will enable anyone to decipher for himself whether or not Watson's viewpoint was un-American.

Dr. Watson, what have you to say about that charge against you?

Dr. WATSON. That article, Mr. Chairman, was brought up and discussed at an earlier session of this committee and is in the record.

Representative GORE. I think I made some inquiry of you at the time. I notice you begin the article by the telling of a story about a college speaker who spoke before an Oklahoma teachers' college and made certain statements to which the president of the institution objected. Who was the college teacher to whom you made reference as being the speaker?

Dr. WATSON. I don't remember now. It was a story that was told me at some educational gathering. Somebody was reporting a speaker on their campus and what had happened and what the president of the college there had said. I didn't know the speaker personally and had no particular connection or association with him.

Representative GORE. You did not have that experience yourself?

Dr. WATSON. No, sir.

Representative GORE. That is all I have to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this your speech that you made on that occasion?

Representative POWERS. It is an article.

The CHAIRMAN. An article.

Dr. WATSON. This is an article that was written on how to develop initiative.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you write this article?

Dr. WATSON. A group of my colleagues at Teachers' College, and other people in education who shared in greater or less degree the feeling that we had reached the end of an era, as far as our economic system was concerned, with the great depression of '29 and '30 and the years following, felt that education should take the lead in preparing people to understand that situation and to formulate plans for a better economic order to succeed the one that was breaking down. With that in mind the Social Frontier, as a magazine, was organized. Each of the persons on our staff who was interested was asked to contribute something. I was thinking about this problem of initiative. Many people objected to socialism because they thought it would destroy initiative. It seemed to me, in working in the public schools, that people who were employed by Government as teachers, as research workers in universities, as Federal employees, often showed just as good initiative as you found anywhere in private enterprise. That was why I raised the problem for discussion and put it into this article.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you one of the charter members of the Social Frontier, of this group?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else was interested in the organization, in the establishment of this publication?

Dr. WATSON. Prof. John Dewey; Prof. William H. Kilpatrick; Prof. Jesse Newlon, the superintendent of schools in Denver; Prof. Harold Rugg, Teachers' College.

Representative KEEFE. I have heard of him before.

Dr. WATSON. Dean Alvin Johnson, of the New School for Social Research; Carson Ryan, head of the department of education at the University of North Carolina; Willard Beatty, superintendent of schools in Bronxville; Charles Beard, America's leading historian; Broadus Mitchell, who was professor of economics at Johns-Hopkins.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you associated with these gentlemen in this publication?

Dr. WATSON. About 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not now connected with that?

Dr. WATSON. No. The publication went out of existence.

The CHAIRMAN. Suspended?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; about 1938, I should think.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that it was issued, did you contribute to it clean up until it was suspended?

Dr. WATSON. I contributed less frequently later, but I don't know what the date of my last contribution was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this a communistic publication?

Dr. WATSON. No, it was not. It was a genuinely democratic publication.

Representative POWERS. What would you be paid for an article like that, Doctor, Initiative in Our New America?

Dr. WATSON. Nothing.

Representative KEEFE. Who pays the costs of this Social Frontier publication, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. Subscribers carry the cost to it; canvassed to see if we could get enough subscribers to pay the cost of issuing the journal, which we did. It was a form of self-expression, we supposed, for this group.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a corporation or just——

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A corporation?

Dr. WATSON. It was a corporation with a board of directors.

Representative POWERS. Were you a part of the corporation, Doctor?

Dr. WATSON. I was one of the board of directors.

The CHAIRMAN. Charter member?

Dr. WATSON. Charter member.

Representative POWERS. Stockholder in the corporation?

Dr. WATSON. Beg pardon?

Representative POWERS. Stockholder in the corporation?

Dr. WATSON. I think this was a nonprofit and nonstock type of corporation; I don't think there ever was any stock.

May I add to the list of directors, since I see the name here now, Dr. George Stoddard, who, as Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, holds the highest educational office in public education; Grayson Kefauver, dean of the school of education at Stanford University. This was not a little group of radicals; this was representative of what might be called a progressive or liberal group in the educational profession.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further questions we will go to charge 20. This charge embraces several exhibits, 63 to 65, inclusive, and says:

Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "We Study England" which appeared in the Social Frontier of December 1936.

Watson's writings are allowed to speak for themselves.

Dr. WATSON. I don't have a copy of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Look over that, sir [handing document to Dr. Watson] and see what you think of it.

Dr. WATSON. That was a report of a group that I was leading in European travel in the summer of 1936 and describes our visits in England. Why it is included here I have no idea. It seems to involve no radical ideas. There is a description of the cooperative movement and criticism of it, a description of the political and housing situation.

Representative KEEFE. Let me see that.

Dr. WATSON. Surely [handing document to Representative Keefe].

Representative KEEFE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. In that article did you advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Dr. WATSON. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You agree that the article itself speaks for itself?

Dr. WATSON. The article speaks for itself.

Representative POWERS. Have you any questions on that?

The CHAIRMAN. I was just waiting to see whether any of you gentlemen wanted to ask any questions.

Representative POWERS. I haven't any.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no question, we will go to charge 21. The twenty-first charge about Dr. Watson is as follows; that is, it involves exhibits Nos. 66 to 69, inclusive:

Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "We Study Scandinavia" which was published in the Social Frontier of January 1937.

Look at that, Doctor, and tell us what you have to say about that, sir, if you desire to say anything about it.

Dr. WATSON (after examining the document referred to). This is another article from the same series reporting the European trip of 1936 and describing the cooperatives in Sweden. I quote from it:

The best thing we saw in Scandinavia was not cooperatives or glassware or even Smorgasbord. It was education.

I think that is fairly typical. I don't see any reason why the article shouldn't speak for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. If it suits the gentleman who is charged here with this offense, will you look at charge 22, Doctor, and see what you have to say about that?

Dr. WATSON. I have nothing more to add on the discussion of 22.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this discussion, the discussion involving this charge, has been gone over thoroughly, may I say?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. By the committee. And there are no questions to follow directed toward this charge, the twenty-second charge.

That brings us down to charge No. 23. This charge embraces, Doctor, exhibits 75 to 77, inclusive, described as follows:

Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "Across Fascist Frontiers" which was published in the Social Frontier of March 1937.

Look at that article, sir, and see if you have anything to say about that; if so, what is it?

Dr. WATSON. I have nothing to add to what has been said before. The fact that this article describes the failure of socialism in Vienna and in Austria has been mentioned in the discussion before. I have nothing more to bring up in connection with it.

The CHAIRMAN. There was nothing in that article, then, that disclosed that you were in favor of the overthrow of this Government or any of its institutions, was there?

Dr. WATSON. That is right; there was nothing of that sort. I think the article has a bearing on Congressman Keefe's question as to why I changed my mind about the desirability of substituting some kind of over-all economic planning for private-enterprise order as I watched what had happened in the failure of many of the European experiments which I have had a chance to see, but it at no point suggests or implies or advocates any overthrow of government.

Representative KEEFE. Well, you use this language, Doctor, in this article. After discussing the trend toward fascism which you saw in Austria with the collapse and destruction of the socialist philosophy, you state:

The Socialists, one-time leaders of the city, have now been killed, driven into exile, or are hopelessly beaten in spirit. What a stirring New Deal they had once begun! Roosevelt must go far before he achieves a program like theirs. The Austrian Socialists actually did the things F. D. R. makes speeches about.

Now, that statement speaks for itself, doesn't it?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. They had built housing which was still only a matter of discussion in this country.

Representative KEEFE. And you further state:

They provided real social security, built cooperative houses, set up health insurance, and enriched life generally for the forgotten man. The Socialists were sure that they had chosen the peaceful, gradual, practical way. They wanted to avoid bloodshed, even at the last, when they were disarmed by ruthless reactionaries and shot down in the 5-day battle in Vienna streets. I thought of the great pageant I had seen one May Day in the Prater, when the youth of Red Vienna dramatized the story of mankind from slave societies to the brave new cooperative world of health and song and creative work. All gone now.

And so forth.

Only emptiness ahead. Is that what my children will experience in America, after the failure of gradualism and the apparently inevitable rise of American fascism?

That is the way you closed this article.

Dr. WATSON. I think it is a pretty sad note on which to close.

Representative KEEFE. Well, in other words, Doctor, if I can understand English, and I think I do, you convey the thought that the one-time leaders, the Socialists, embarked upon a gradual program that they thought would be practical and would work, and they gradually did provide real social security and built cooperative homes and set up health insurance, and they wanted to avoid bloodshed.

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And wanted to avoid revolution and thought that they could accomplish their purposes by a spirit and practice of gradualism, only to find that at the last they were disarmed and destroyed by a ruthless reactionary group that shot them down in the 5-day battle, thus proving to the world that the process of

gradualism will not work; and you finally asked yourself the question at the end: After the failure of gradualism, as it failed in Austria, and the inevitable rise of Facism, as it is rising in America, is that what your children have got to experience?

Now, you saw that in 1937, didn't you?

Dr. WATSON. 1936.

Representative KEEFE. Well, this is March 1937.

Dr. WATSON. The article appeared later. That was written in the fall of '36.

Representative KEEFE. So that down to March 1937 you were still expounding a philosophy directly in contradiction to the philosophy of gradualism as expounded by the Socialists of Vienna, were you not?

Dr. WATSON. I was expounding the failure of the Socialists of Vienna. I was not, in this article or in any other at that time, proposing anything as a substitute.

Representative KEEFE. No.

Dr. WATSON. Because New America had been our substitute, and I didn't think that was working. I didn't see what was going to work.

Representative KEEFE. Nowhere in this article in 1937 or in the latter part of '36, whatever you want to say——

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Published in 1937. Nowhere in this article do you disavow your publicly and repeatedly announced adherence to the philosophy of destruction of the profit system and the capitalistic system as being necessary before a new world order can be established?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in that article in which you advocated bloodshed or revolution to obtain any governmental condition, is there?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Charge 24 involves exhibit 78, a photostat of page 93 of the Social Frontier of December 1937, which contains a portion of a column signed by Goodwin Watson. Look at that, sir, and tell us what you have to say about that charge.

Dr. WATSON (after examining document). This was a column which was reviewing various current periodicals of interest to the readers of the Social Frontier, and there is one paragraph in it which is marked, I suppose for special attention by this committee, in which there are three bits about the Soviet Union: Soviet Russia Today has a hundred pages of pictures and stories on the impressive achievements of 20 years. The Research Bulletin of the American Russian Institute describes the books published, of the Soviet Union. Harold Denny, in the New York Times, reports professors' salaries about \$250 a month in the Soviet Union. Those are three factual statements with no special political connotation so far as I can see.

Representative GORE. I have read that, and I do not see anything substantial to that charge.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, charge 25 involves exhibits from 79 to 82, inclusive, and embraces the photostats of an article written by you entitled "Six Capitals," which was published in the Social Frontier of

October 1938. You can look over these exhibits and see if you desire to make any comment on those. If so, we shall be glad to hear you.

Dr. WATSON. No particular comment. It describes the experiences in visiting six centers in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you writing about then under that article? Give us a little résumé of what is in the article.

Dr. WATSON. A group traveling in Europe, what we saw in London: Economic indices not encouraging, real wages low.

Next is Rome: Glorification of war. Some of the welfare benefits, new buildings.

Berlin: Not changed much on the surface. New roads being built.

Turkey: The development of their own New Deal, which was not fascism or capitalism or communism. "We want our own system," they said. "Call it Kemalism."

Moscow: The lack of tension that I had expected to find following the purge. The pseudo debate that went on in the supreme Soviet. New construction. Rising production, quotation from Lindbergh. Dance music.

Then, Paris: The Popular front government. The housing. New school building.

Here capitalism is giving way to something which will probably not be fascism, despite the affection of some French reactionaries for Franco.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to ask him anything further?

Representative POWERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall go to charge 26, which embraces exhibits 83 to 93, inclusive:

Photostats of an address delivered by Goodwin Watson on June 28, 1938.

While the text of this address should be read in its entirety in order to appreciate Watson's viewpoint, it may be pointed out that he makes the following statement: "Your Government, and that of France and England, may pretend to be democracies, but they are in truth plutocracies." Furthermore there is nothing else in the text of this address which in any way contradicts or modifies the foregoing quotation.

Do you wish to look at that quotation and explain it to us?

Dr. WATSON. That has come up before, Judge, and I repeat now what I said then, that I think that is an exaggeration. I don't think in a sober moment I would have said that then, and I certainly wouldn't say it now, although I think there is a grain of truth in it; that the people with money enough to control the agencies that make up public opinion do have a very great influence in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not desire to make any further comment about this charge?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Except what is already in the record?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this is published by the Department of Secondary-School Principals. Tell us something about that.

Dr. WATSON. That is the official organ of the High School Principals of the United States. The address was made under their auspices.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a very old publishing house, is it not?

Dr. WATSON. Yes. I don't know how old that department is, but the National Education Association is the main organization of teachers in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't it organized at Columbia University many years ago?

Dr. WATSON. I don't know that it was organized at Columbia. It was organized many years ago.

Representative KEEFE. That is an organization of high-school instructors and teachers, isn't it?

Dr. WATSON. High-school principals, I think, particularly.

Representative KEEFE. Principals. They have their headquarters in Chicago, don't they?

Dr. WATSON. No. Here in Washington, I think, in the National Education Association Building at Sixteenth and M.

Representative KEEFE. Well, I guess that is right. The president of it came before one of our committees last year. I remember he was from Chicago, as I recall. He gave us some testimony on the National Youth Administration and the attitude of their organization toward it.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote this article at whose request?

Dr. WATSON. At the request of the organization, the National Education Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Next is charge 27, which involves exhibits 94 and 95:

Photostats of a two-page letter in which Goodwin Watson and certain other persons sent out a call for a conference to make plans for a campaign for the release of Earl Browder.

All of the signers of this letter have long public records of membership in the Communist Party or of close collaboration with the front organizations of the Communist Party.

All right, sir [handing document to Dr. Watson]. Will you look at that letter? We would like to hear from you on that.

Dr. WATSON. I remember the circumstances of this letter. It was shortly before I came to Washington to begin work here. I had been working for more than a year with the Committee for National Morale, a defense organization, under the chairmanship of Dr. Arthur Upham Pope. Dr. Pope called me on the telephone. I may say that he is an extremely distinguished scholar, particularly in the field of art and archeology, a personal friend of Secretary Knox, Stimson, Ickes.

He called me on the telephone and asked me if I would be willing to sign a letter asking for a reconsideration of the Browder case. I demurred slightly. He said, "I know you will. A lot of us feel there was a big injustice done in that situation," and so on. And I felt that Mr. Browder had not been given treatment that another citizen in the same circumstances would have been given, and I agreed to sign the letter, and I did so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you address the letter to Pope?

Dr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice it says, "Dear Friend." Who was it?

Dr. WATSON. That was the form in which the letter was composed. He read it to me over the telephone. Mr. Pope is not a Communist. He has not been associated with the Communist Party or Communist activities. I notice some other names here who are certainly not Communists or associated with Communist activities, among them Osmond Fraenkel, whom I have known slightly in the American Civil Liberties Union; Rev. William B. Spofford, who is editor, I

think of the Churchman, the magazine of the Episcopal Church. I think that this was an action in defense of civil liberties.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did write this letter? Pope?

Dr. WATSON. I don't know whether Pope wrote it or whether some one of the other signers actually composed it. Pope was the one who read it to me.

Representative POWERS. I have no questions on that charge. Have you, Mr. Keefe?

Representative KEEFE. Did you attend the conference when it was called?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative KEEFE. Well, you asked others to attend by signing this letter, but you didn't attend the conference yourself?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. A conference which was supposed to have been held on Saturday, November 1, at 2 o'clock, at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West Seventy-third Street, New York City. This was a letter not addressed to any particular individual but to the public at large, wasn't it?

Dr. WATSON. I think so.

Representative KEEFE. And to be sent out to as many individuals as they cared to send it to, calling for a meeting to be held as indicated?

Dr. WATSON. Right.

Representative KEEFE. And although you signed the letter making the call, you didn't attend the meeting?

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. You don't know what transpired at the meeting?

Dr. WATSON. That's right. I don't know whether the meeting was ever held.

Representative KEEFE. Your present opinion is that Mr. Browder was punished because he was a Communist and not because of a violation of the law?

Dr. WATSON. I think the sentence was more severe than would have been given and had been given in other similar cases. I think the President agreed with me.

Representative KEEFE. It was because of the severity of the sentence that you thought that he should be released?

Dr. WATSON. That's right.

Representative KEEFE. You didn't question his guilt of the offense charged?

Dr. WATSON. No; and I don't condone it.

Representative KEEFE. But you felt that the judge was wrong in sentencing him as he did?

Dr. WATSON. I felt that he did not get the same treatment that other citizens have gotten for the same offense, and that seemed to me un-American.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The President commuted his sentence, didn't he?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After he had served how long?

Dr. WATSON. I don't know how long he served.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he serve any time at all before the President commuted the sentence?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; but the President intervened to alter the situation, and I was very happy that he did so. It seemed to me well justified.

The CHAIRMAN. Next is charge 28, Dr. Watson, which involves an exhibit here, described as a photostat of a press account of Dr. Watson's address which was delivered on June 28, 1938. Have you seen this press account here, that they spoke of your speech?

Dr. WATSON. Yes, Mr. Chairman, but I think, since it covers the speech which is referred to in charge 26, and of which the full text has been introduced, that there is no point in introducing or discussing a press account based on that speech.

Representative POWERS. Well, Doctor, I have this photostatic copy of an article from the New York Herald Tribune. The speech was delivered on the 28th of June 1938. I imagine this must be the 29th of June 1938. And it reads as follows:

The teachers applauded him vigorously—

They are speaking of you, Dr. Watson.

The teachers applauded him vigorously, although he castigated them for failing to mold the opinions of their pupils against "manufacturing interests, plutocrats, and Mr. Millionbucks" whom he charged were ignoring and opposing the inarticulate desires of the masses for industrial and political democracy and world peace.

Among the principal assertions of Dr. Watson, who is a leader of the social-frontier or left-wing group of educators, were that Soviet Russia was one of "the most notable international achievements of our generation"; that democracy can be achieved only if newspapers and the radio, like schools, are taken from private owners and made public agencies, and that the New York World's Fair promises to be only a "ballyhoo for business" despite its claim of education.

Doctor, would you say that that is an accurate description?

Dr. WATSON. No.

Representative POWERS. It is not?

Dr. WATSON. It is not.

Representative POWERS. What inaccuracies?

Dr. WATSON. Most striking is, first, that I do not ask teachers to mold the opinions of pupils; second, that I do—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you want to look at this [handing a document to Dr. Watson]?

Dr. WATSON. I don't have any summary of it there. The statement about Soviet Russia referred purely to their handling of the race minority problem, and not—explicitly not—to their economic and political organization. That is, I said whatever one may think of their economic system or their lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, one cannot deny that they have made a notable international achievement in handling minority races.

The statement on the control of the schools and the press was that some radio stations, like some newspapers, should be under public ownership, as is the case of the schools. There are private schools, also, along with public schools. I undoubtedly referred to the New York World's Fair as having been ballyhoo for business. I think the reporter was endeavoring to create an impression of more radical charges than were made.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't purport to quote you, did he?

Representative POWERS. Yes; he has quoted him in this news article.

Dr. WATSON. There are occasional phrases quoted, but there is no sentence quoted.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You say that you have that address?

Dr. WATSON. That address is already in as exhibit 27.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit 27.

Representative POWERS. Well, before we leave, there is one additional question, Doctor.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Representative POWERS. This reporter terms you—he says, “Dr. Watson, who is a leader of the social-frontier or left-wing group of educators.” Now, the Social Frontier was a magazine. Was there a group known as the social frontier, known as the left-wing group of educators, that you belonged to?

Dr. WATSON. No; there is no organization of it except that we were associated in this Social Frontier enterprise. I think the term “left wing” is pretty gratuitous because it would have to extend way to the center to include the Social Frontier group.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The next charge is charge 29, and exhibit 97, “Photostat of the letter which Goodwin Watson wrote to the New York Times and to which reference has been made.”

Representative GORE. Mr. Chairman, that really is not in the form of a charge. That is just an exhibit. I suppose the Doctor will admit the authorship of the letter.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to hand it to him and ask him if he had anything to say about it.

Representative GORE. Well, I thought you were interpreting that as some charge.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it was interpreted by the Dies committee——

Representative GORE (interposing). I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. As one of their charges and as one of the 29 charges brought against him.

Will you look at that?

Dr. WATSON. This is a letter of protest which I wrote.

Representative GORE. That is no charge, is it?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I do not think it is a charge, either.

Representative GORE. I do not know what it is therefor.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. LAMBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Doctor, we have a good deal more evidence that we shall have to look into before we call you back again for some other explanation of something that we may find in other evidence against you, and I suppose you will be available at any time.

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I will.

I would like to make a brief summary comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me just a minute. You say you would like to make a fairly brief comment?

Dr. WATSON. A brief summary comment on these 2 days of charges, these 29 charges that we have been through, if the committee would like to hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Fine. I do not think the committee would object to hearing it. I certainly wouldn't.

Dr. WATSON. Well, the charges are of 2 kinds. They involve organizations with which I have had some connection, and they in-

volve extracts from my writings. As far as the organizations are concerned, they refer to 16 different organizations with which I had some contact over a period of 8 years. Taken all at once they are rather impressive, but when you recognize that it is only 2 a year you realize that it was not a very large part of my activity. They vary from active leadership in the organization, in the case of 3, to having sponsored a meeting or sponsored a bill before Congress or signed a petition.

In reviewing these for myself and for the committee, I ask myself, What was the purpose, my real purpose in connection with each of those 16 agencies mentioned? There are five of them, five of the charges that relate to organizations, which seem to me straight civil liberties issues: Petitions to protect the Communist Party or to see that Browder is given the same treatment that any other criminal is given; protests against anti-Semitism, and my affiliation with the Descendants of the American Revolution, all flow from that interest.

Three of them were protests against fascism abroad; one, this Conference on Pan-American Democracy; the two, protest groups on loyalty—or the Spanish Loyalists.

That leaves eight, all of which had a genuine educational function, and it seemed to me proper for an educator to be associated with them: The Consumers Union, for educating consumers; the Investors Union, for helping investors make wiser choices; this American Student Union; the youth bill; plays for children, and so on; and again the Conference for Pan-American Democracy.

I have made a rule, as I think I told the committee, that when an organization asks for help which I can easily give by way of sponsorship or something of that sort, to look into the purpose of the organization or the meeting or the bill or whatever it is; if I agree with it, to look further to see whether it is being sponsored or promoted by non-Communists. The fact that some Communists are also for it has not deterred me, and I believe that in each of these instances you will find a substantial number of reputable persons worthy of leadership in our democracy to have joined in the same organizations that I have. I have never at any time, in connection with these or any other organizations, joined in an organization that I knew to be under Communist control for purposes of the Communist Party or for purposes of the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

So far as the expressions of my attitude in speeches are concerned, I want to say just this: I do not find in our laws anywhere any statement, apart from the definition of subversive activity which the chairman read in that bill, which says that people in order to hold public office must believe in the profit system or capitalism or one economic system rather than another.

My writings show that for a considerable period following the depression—the severe depression of 1929—that I had what is probably called a socialist outlook, that I thought that the business enterprise system would not solve our problems, and I felt that it was desirable to introduce economic planning under democratic control. I believed and always advocated that it should be done legally and peacefully, but I believed that if it were planned as a whole and introduced as a whole the difficulties of adjustment would be much less than they would if we went through a long period of social struggle trying to achieve a new balance. My views on that point have changed, but

I do not believe that anything that was said or done in these years in any sense represents disloyalty to our Government, seditious activity, or any intent to overthrow or encourage others to overthrow our legal and political and other institutions.

The final thing that I should like to say for consideration of the committee is that, while these charges have to be met, I don't think they are the basis on which the committee ought to make the very solemn decision that now they must face in connection with suitability of a citizen for employment in public office. After all, I have been in office for a year and a half. I have issued under my direction hundreds of reports which have gone to responsible Members of the Congress as well as to the persons concerned with our foreign policy. We don't have a single criticism in any of them, not a criticism of any bias, any slant, any attempt to put across anything, except we have plenty of commendation that indicates that people have read them and that they find the work we are doing useful. I would like to be judged primarily on my record as a public servant. I think that is a legitimate request.

The second request that I would make is that if there is some doubt in the mind of the committee with reference to my integrity, with reference to whether I am testifying here as an honest man or whether I am trying to put up a front behind which subversive intentions may be cloaked, that you look over the exhibits which you have of people who have written letters in my behalf to the Federal Communications Commission, to the Congress, during the time the question was raised last year—voluntarily, hundreds of psychologists and educators. Every social psychologist in the country, practically, came to my support; I am very proud of that fact.

I have never had from any of my colleagues, when I served for 6 years on the National Council of the Y. M. C. A., on their staff, with the most conservative of business and religious leaders—I never had a person who questioned my integrity, and you will find the testimony in support of some of them here. The F. B. I. went to my colleagues, my neighbors my friends; and while naturally that report is not available to me, what I know about it through the action of my employers indicated that they, too, find that people who know me and have known me over a long period of time do have every confidence in me.

I think it is significant that we are acting, insofar as you are judging me, on the basis of charges brought by people who never saw me, who never knew me. There is not a single charge brought by any person who has ever worked alongside me over the years. Such people, and there are hundreds of them, wouldn't have the slightest credence if they were told that Watson is a Communist, that Watson tried to overthrow the Government, or has been engaged in any seditious activity. They just wouldn't believe it. I am convinced that is true, and I shall be very happy to have you investigate and see if it is not true. I think that you still must mean to take it into consideration at any doubtful point.

In the third place, so far as the organizations are concerned, and writings which we have dealt with today, it would seem to me that they need to be put into perspective. There were perhaps three or four articles, none of them what I would call major articles, all of them things dashed off too hurriedly, I admit, which have come in for

criticism—on the whole, I think, legitimate criticism. I don't think that the sentiments expressed there are things I would expect you to agree with. I don't think they are things I myself agree with now. I don't think I should ever have said it.

Representative KEEFE. Doctor, right there, you won't object to my asking you this question?

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. There has been some criticism leveled at the Committee Investigating Subversive and Un-American Activities because of making some charges against you. Now, if you were on such a committee, as a Member of Congress, and has submitted to you your writings, standing alone, as they are, advocating clearly and definitely the destruction of the profit system and the abolition of the capitalistic state and the substitution of a planned economy in its place, wouldn't you feel that a Congress having the interests and welfare of the American way at heart would be justified in calling such a person to account?

Dr. WATSON. Yes; I would.

Representative KEEFE. Now, you feel, do you not, in view of your own statement admitting these writings and admitting, from your present attitude, your complete error and renunciation of that philosophy which you expressed repeatedly down to 1937 or '38, that they, standing alone, should be sufficient to put any Government on notice and demand some investigation of that individual; wouldn't you think so?

Dr. WATSON. I would think so. I would think that no statement should be given to the press or the public until an investigation had been made. I think an investigation is well warranted. I believe we still—you and I, at least—still disagree on whether a person who holds a socialist philosophy, as an American citizen and with every regard for legal and peaceful methods, can be a good public servant at the present time. I think you think not. I think yes.

Representative KEEFE. I would not want you to attempt to put into the record what I think on that score.

Dr. WATSON. All right.

Representative KEEFE. If you limit it to socialist philosophy you are limiting the situation very, very unduly.

Dr. WATSON. Well, that is the only point I would argue for. If we agree on that point, then I think we do not fundamentally disagree.

Representative KEEFE. I much prefer that you not attempt to put in the record what I may or may not think.

Dr. WATSON. I would make the point which I made to you—and I do not know whether it was made to all the group—that these organizations which have been mentioned, the 16, of which 3 were major, are a very small part of the organizations in which I actually worked. There were 30-odd and none of them called into question those writings, but these writings are brought in from half a dozen articles, representing perhaps less than 1 percent of all the articles I wrote. I think any committee that wanted to make a fair investigation would have looked also for articles on democracy and the cooperative processes, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. We have asked you about them.

Dr. WATSON. That is now, or will be, in the record for consideration.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Watson, I have examined a good many of your writings. Some of them are not subject to criticism, at least on my part.

Dr. WATSON. My point is that 98 percent of them are not.

Representative KEEFE. How do I know, and what assurance have I, that those writings represent your philosophy when alongside them I find what you are pleased to term the 2 percent which do express a certain philosophy which you now say you disavow?

Dr. WATSON. That is true.

Representative KEEFE. That you do not believe in.

Dr. WATSON. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. What am I to understand the situation to be? How do I know what you do believe in and what you do not believe in? I cannot probe your mind except to take what you actually said. And I find no writing at any place disavowing those previous statements and philosophy. You have admitted that yourself.

Dr. WATSON. That is right. My practice has been as I grow and as my ideas change, to write the new but not in terms of repudiation of the old.

I conceive from the standpoint of any investigation such as this, that that is very unwise. However, I did not carry on my career primarily with the thought of ever being examined with reference to my Americanism. I had always assumed that as the basic heart and soul of everything I did.

That was my reason for going into the Navy 25 years ago, and is my reason for coming to Washington at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I think that completes what I need to say.

The CHAIRMAN. We may call you again during our investigation.

Dr. WATSON. All right. I thank you gentlemen of the subcommittee. I think this has been a very real endeavor to have a meeting of minds on a very difficult problem.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hold a closed session for the members of the subcommittee.

(Thereupon at 4:05 p. m. the special subcommittee went into executive session with members only of the subcommittee present.) For exhibits relating to Goodwin B. Watson, see Appendix B.

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1943.

The special subcommittee met at 2 p. m., pursuant to adjournment on yesterday, in the hearing room of the Committee on Appropriations in the Capitol, Representative John H. Kerr, chairman of the special subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Representatives Kerr (chairman of the special subcommittee), Anderson of New Mexico, Powers, and Keefe.

Present also: Major Matt. H. Allen, counsel to the special subcommittee; R. E. Lambert, clerk to the special subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. The special subcommittee will come to order. Mr. Dodd, please stand, hold up your right hand and be sworn: You do solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the matter we now have under consideration will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God?

Mr. DODD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., ARLINGTON, VA.; ASSISTANT NEWS EDITOR, FOREIGN BROADCAST SERVICE, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dodd, this special subcommittee has called you to ask you some questions in reference to certain charges that have been made by the Dies committee against you. If you desire to make any explanation of those charges we will be glad to have you do so.

Mr. DODD. After I have answered specific questions, do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Major Allen is our attorney. He has looked over these charges and will interrogate you. You may answer the questions propounded and then make any explanation you may desire to make.

Mr. DODD. Thank you.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, for the purpose of this record will you state your name, age and present occupation?

Mr. DODD. My name is William Edward Dodd, Jr. I reside at 220 North Greenbrier, Arlington, Va. I was born in Ashland, Va., August 8, 1905. For further answer may I refer to the official record I have here?

Major ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. DODD. I am assistant news editor, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission. Do you want me to state my salary?

Major ALLEN. You might state it for the record.

Mr. DODD. I started at \$2,600 and am now making \$3,200.

Major ALLEN. Does your service with the Federal Communications Commission have any relationship to the war production program?

Mr. DODD. Do you mean by that the W. P. B., or do you mean just in general?

Major ALLEN. Just in general.

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Major ALLEN. Will you specify what particular relationship you have with the war production program?

Mr. DODD. As to the branch I am in, the assistant news editor receives all kinds of foreign broadcasts, and goes over the material that comes in by radio from various parts of the world; and the duty of the assistant news editors, of course, is to read the material and pick out items that we presume would be of news interest to the various Government departments.

Major ALLEN. In other words, your duties are to digest the foreign broadcasts and distribute to the appropriate agencies the information obtained by short wave, the propaganda broadcasts.

Mr. DODD. I do not have all the duties connected with the matter. I have only one. The duties are divided. The work of the agency is divided up. There is the analyst who analyzes it on the basis of weekly reports. My job is more specific than that, to take the broadcasts that come in—and they are summarized and are already partially digested. My job is to digest that portion of the work that comes in. I only work on one shift. I am one of four editors on that particular shift.

Major ALLEN. Will you give to the committee a brief statement of your educational background, including the positions you have occupied with various educational institutions?

Mr. DODD. I presume you want me to start with high school?

Major ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. DODD. First, University High School of Chicago. I graduated from there in 1919. That is a branch of the University of Chicago. Then my Ph. B., I believe it is called, my bachelor of literature, was taken from the University of Chicago in 1928.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That is not bachelor of literature, is it?

Mr. DODD. Well, I am sorry. Bachelor of arts.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That is A. B.

Mr. DODD. It is the equivalent except that no Greek is required for it. That is the way they make the distinction between the two degrees at the University of Chicago. Then at Harvard College, where I took my master of arts degree in history, American and European. I was there from 1930 to 1932, and got my degree.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you were at Harvard from 1930 to 1932?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the A. M. degree.

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir. I got my degree in 1932. It may have been awarded at the following semester, in 1933. Then I got my doctor of philosophy degree in American and European contemporary history at the University of Berlin in 1935.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How long were you in Berlin?

Mr. DODD. I was in Berlin working on my degree for 2 years, and of course while my father was Ambassador there, and I used to visit off and on after that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. When did your father go to Berlin as Ambassador.

Mr. DODD. He went there in July 1933.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was that during the period you were in Berlin as a student? Was he at all times while you were a student there our Ambassador at Berlin?

Mr. DODD. That is right. I taught at Rutgers University in 1928 and 1929; that is, one academic year. I taught freshman history. Then at the University of North Carolina the following year. I taught freshman history and European history. That would be in 1929 and 1930, and then of course I was at Harvard the next two years. Then in 1932 and 1933 I was at the American University Graduate School here in Washington teaching a single course in English history, while I was working on my doctor's thesis in the Library of Congress.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What was the subject of your thesis?

Mr. DODD. The Francis Preston Blair family and their influence on the outbreak of the Civil War. I then taught at William and Mary College in 1935-36 for the academic year. I taught one course in American history. While there I completed reading my doctor's dissertation. That is the basis of my academic record.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, I believe you were examined before the Dies committee on April 5 of this year.

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Major ALLEN. I have before me a transcript of the examination consisting of 35 pages, and upon examination of this transcript I find you were examined about your past and present membership or association with 10 organizations, namely: International peace campaign, American League for Peace and Democracy, China Aid Council, Spanish Relief, Modern Industrial Bank of New York, American Friends of the Soviet Union, League of American Writers, Champion Magazine, Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, and Schapps Defense Committee. Is that correct?

Mr. DODD. That is correct. I would like to insert just an explanation, that the Modern Industrial Bank was simply my employer as a radio commentator. It was not an organization in the sense you understand it.

Major ALLEN. I understand that, but you were examined about it, were you not?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that bank?

Mr. DODD. In New York.

Major ALLEN. You were a member of various other organizations about which you were not examined?

Mr. DODD. I presume so.

Major ALLEN. Will you state to the committee something of your activities in the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DODD. May I give a bit of background of how I got into the work of the League, because I think it would be necessary to explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer about your membership, and then give any explanation you desire to make.

Mr. DODD. Yes; I was an employee of the American League For Peace and Democracy. I worked in the International Peace Campaign in Europe in the years 1936 and 1937, as editor and speaker in various parts of France and Europe, and was sent home by the International Peace Campaign to attempt to organize a branch of that organization here in cooperation with all the known peace organizations in the United States.

I worked for several months trying to do that and gave it up because I did not see that I was making any progress, and thought it just a waste of time.

At the end of that 2- or 3-month period I was asked by Dr. Ward, of the American League For Peace and Democracy, if I would come and work for them in organizing a campaign to raise money for Spain. That is, for refugees and for medical aid to Spain. Also later it developed for medical aid and refugee aid to China.

It was during my duties with this organization that I was sent out to speak at meetings of many other organizations with which I had no connection. I was asked to speak at various local neighborhood meetings, many of whose names I would not recall today, but simply to explain to those organizations the situation and ask them for financial support for the refugee and medical aid work.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did the witness actually say whether he was or was not a member of this organization?

Mr. DODD. I was a paid member or worker.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That is the way you answered the first time.

Mr. DODD. I am sorry.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You may you were employed by them, but were you a member of the organization?

Mr. DODD. I was both.

Representative POWERS. Did you know that the Attorney General of the United States had branded the American League For Peace and Democracy a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. I know that he had. That Attorney General Biddle had.

Representative POWERS. When did you join the American League For Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DODD. In 1937.

Representative POWERS. And are you still a member of that organization?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; it is a defunct organization.

Representative POWERS. When did it fold up?

Mr. DODD. I believe in 1939, but am not sure.

Representative POWERS. But you were a member of it?

Mr. DODD. I resigned from it as an official or as a paid employee and as a member in March of 1938.

Representative POWERS. Why did you resign as a member and paid employee of it?

Mr. DODD. I resigned to return to Virginia, to my farm, and to run for Congress.

Representative POWERS. Not because of any of the teachings of the organization, or not because of any of its philosophy; is that right?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. You just resigned because you wanted to return to Virginia?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You were a candidate for public office at that time?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And you were not identifying yourself with any organizations while you were running for public office?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever been connected with the American Peace Mobilization, now known as the American Peoples Mobilization?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. You never had any connection with it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. You never sponsored anything in connection with it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Major ALLEN. Were you ever told that your name appeared on a list of members of that organization?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; I was told that it did so show. I think I was asked by the F. B. I. if I had ever been a member and I said I was not. Of course, organizations use your name once you get on a liberal mailing list. They use your name sometimes without your consent, and that is the way it may have gotten on.

Representative POWERS. What do you mean by "liberal mailing list"? Is not that the term you used?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative POWERS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. DODD. The only one I have in mind, and the only one I could concretely point to is the matter of subscribers to the Nation magazine, which is considered a liberal magazine, and they have a liberal mailing list. For instance, subscribers to that magazine, or to the New Republic, have oftentimes been circulated with appeals for various causes.

Major ALLEN. What association or connection have you had with the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. DODD. None.

Major ALLEN. Have you ever been a member of that organization?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Major ALLEN. Had you ever heard that your name was carried as a member of that organization?

Mr. DODD. I had not so heard. I believe my father's name was, and my brother-in-law's name was carried, but not my own.

Major ALLEN. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; I am a member of that.

Representative POWERS. Do you know that the Attorney General of the United States has branded that as a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. I have read that, yes.

Representative POWERS. Is it, in your opinion, a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. It is not, in my opinion. Of course, I am not very active in it.

Representative POWERS. How long have you been a member of it?

Mr. DODD. I believe 2 or 3 years.

Representative POWERS. Are you still a member of it?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative POWERS. In spite of the fact that the Attorney General of the United States has designated it as a subversive organization, you, as a Government employee, still retain your membership in it?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir. I do not consider it a subversive organization, but my only connection with it is that I buy books there at a discount, buy records there. I consider it a cooperative where you can get a reduction on various articles.

Representative KEEFE. Did you attend meetings at the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. DODD. I was asked to speak and spoke there 2 or 3 years ago when my father's diary was published. I was the editor of the diary, and they asked me to come and speak there on the diary.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know that they have a room in the back end of the Washington Book Shop where they hold meetings?

Mr. DODD. I know that I spoke in the book shop.

Representative KEEFE. But do you know of this room that they have there?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. There is a room there where they hold meetings?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Are they public meetings?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Are you sure about that?

Mr. DODD. I am sure. The one I addressed was a public meeting. There must have been 200 people there.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know anything about the background of the Washington Book Shop organization?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Where it originated?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Or who controls it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Or how it is financed?

Mr. DODD. I am only a member of it.

Representative KEEFE. You are a member of it and yet you say you know nothing about the background of it?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And despite the fact that the Attorney General of the United States has held that that is a subversive organization you still support it by maintaining membership in it?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative POWERS. Mr. Dodd, have you ever been arrested?

Mr. DODD. I do not recall so.

Representative POWERS. Well, certainly, if you were ever arrested you would recall it.

Mr. DODD. Do you mean for speeding?

Representative POWERS. No. Have you ever been arrested?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been arrested for anything?

Mr. DODD. I have been arrested and fined for speeding, yes.

Representative POWERS. Were you ever arrested for anything else?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Or charged with a felony or a misdemeanor or anything of that kind? I am not a lawyer but possibly those terms would cover the situation.

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Going back to the Washington Book Shop, about how much would you say your purchases amounted to there, in the way of either books or records?

Mr. DODD. I suppose \$150, approximately.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And principally they were books?

Mr. DODD. Principally books.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They handle records that deal with things other than music; do they not? I mean, they have records that are unobtainable sometimes at other places.

Mr. DODD. As to that I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you ever buy any of their records?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What did you buy?

Mr. DODD. I bought a Spanish folk song.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Largely concerned with Spanish democracy?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; but in connection with that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What discount did you get?

Mr. DODD. I believe 10 percent on books, and on records, 20 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the membership of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. I know that I am a member, and I know that others are members.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know other people who are members of it?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see a list of its membership?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Did anybody every deny that the Washington Book Shop was a Communist organization?

Mr. DODD. I do not know anything about the organization.

Representative KEEFE. Anyone who went in and saw the type of literature it puts out could easily find out by just walking in there, could he not?

Mr. DODD. I do not know.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever spoken under the auspices of the American Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. DODD. I believe so; yes, once.

Major ALLEN. Where and when was that?

Mr. DODD. I do not recall the exact date. I do not remember when it was or the location of it. I believe that was on the Dies committee list, and they asked me about it, and I told them I did not remember whether that was the specific meeting at which I spoke or not. As I explained earlier, during a little less than a year that I worked for the American League For Peace and Democracy I was invited and asked to speak, I mean by a number of organizations, on a program in regard to Spanish relief and in regard to Chinese relief.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember where that was?

Mr. DODD. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. At what place in New York?

Mr. DODD. That is what I meant when I said I did not know what part of New York. I could find out if I went back in the record of speeches and my letters for that year. I believe it was in the fall of 1937; yes, in the fall of 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the subject of the address?

Mr. DODD. On Spanish relief, raising money for relief work and medical work for Spain.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever spoken under the auspices of an organization known as Medical Aid for China?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Major ALLEN. Do you recall when and where?

Mr. DODD. I think I have got it here somewhere. [Looking through papers.] Did you say China?

Major ALLEN. Yes; Medical Aid for China.

Mr. DODD. I cannot find it. I did speak for it. It was a part of the China Aid Council, which was in turn an offshoot of the American League for Peace and Democracy. It would be in the fall or winter of 1937-38.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, did you ever speak under the auspices of an organization known as American Friends of the Chinese People? **✓**

Mr. DODD. Yes. I spoke to a meeting which was organized most likely by them. But I was speaking for the China Aid Council, which at that time was a part or offshoot of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Major ALLEN. Do you recall by whom you were invited to speak?

Mr. DODD. No; I do not.

Major ALLEN. Did you ever speak under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Major ALLEN. Is that the one about which you have testified?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative POWERS. What was the subject of your talk before a meeting of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DODD. Well, sir, I imagine I spoke on several occasions for the organization. Our work was divided, and I first worked in the campaign to raise money for medical aid and relief in Spain; and I have spoken on medical aid to Spain, and also have spoken for the organization for medical aid and relief for China.

Representative POWERS. What was the purpose of the American League for Peace and Democracy which the Attorney General of the United States has branded as a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. It was to organize public opinion; to inform the people about the necessity of helping the various groups in Europe that needed medical aid and that needed money for clothing, who were fighting against fascism at that time.

Representative POWERS. It was really a Communist organization, was it not?

Mr. DODD. I would not say so. My interpretation is that it was not.

Representative POWERS. You differ with the Attorney General of the United States about that.

Mr. DODD. I do.

Representative POWERS. Of course, you have a perfect right to do that.

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Could it be fairly called a Communist front organization?

Mr. DODD. It might have become that after I left it. In the period I was working there I did not regard it as such. I have no doubt there were some Communists in it as members, but I did not regard it at the time I worked for it as a Communist front organization. If I had I should not have worked for it.

Representative POWERS. You claim that you have never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative POWERS. Have you ever been what is known as a fellow traveler?

Mr. DODD. I have never considered myself a fellow traveler.

Representative POWERS. What is a fellow traveler?

Mr. DODD. I do not know, frankly.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. If you do not know what a fellow traveler is how can you say that you do not consider yourself a fellow traveler?

Mr. DODD. I know what the different interpretations of fellow traveler are. In some people's minds fellow traveler is one who would express the conviction, for instance, on the issue of collective security before the outbreak of the present war; anyone who said that the European nations and our own Nation should unite with Russia and formulate a program of collective security, working inside and with the League of Nations to maintain the peace of the world. Also at the same time, while working collectively together, to prevent the spread of fascism in Europe and in the world.

Representative POWERS. You knew many Communist fellow travelers, did you not?

Mr. DODD. I knew them by name, but did not know them personally.

Representative POWERS. Did you not entertain Harry Bridges at one time?

Mr. DODD. He was at my apartment. The Harry Bridges Committee, I believe, called and asked if they could give a cocktail party and conference for Mr. Bridges, and he was there.

Representative POWERS. And you knew he was there?

Mr. DODD. I met him that afternoon for the first time.

Representative POWERS. You opened your home to Harry Bridges?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Where was that?

Mr. DODD. In New York.

Representative KEEFE. When?

Mr. DODD. I think it was in 1940 or 1941, and I am not sure which.

Representative POWERS. Did you ever invite him to your home in Virginia or here in Washington?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Or anywhere else?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Has Harry Bridges ever been in your home at any other time?

Mr. DODD. That is the only time.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I think that time is important. I take it you have not entertained Harry Bridges, or people of that nature, enough but what you should be able to fit it into some sort of pigeonhole of your mind. You were then living in New York?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You had an apartment there?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you recall that address?

Mr. DODD. It was 231 East Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How long had you lived there?

Mr. DODD. Can I try to establish the date myself?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Mr. DODD. I worked in W. P. A. until the spring of 1939. Then I was with my father until he died, in the winter of 1940, in February. Then I went to New York. I think it was either in the fall of 1940 or the spring of 1941, maybe the winter of 1940.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You should not say definitely whether it was in the fall of 1940 or the spring of 1941?

Mr. DODD. To the nearest of my recollection it was in 1941; early 1941.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. At that time were deportation charges pending against Harry Bridges before the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. DODD. I believe there were, yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Were those deportation charges the subject of any discussion that afternoon?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How many people attended the party?

Mr. DODD. I believe about 30. They were newspapermen. It was a press conference.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who paid the bills for that cocktail party and press conference, if you recall?

Mr. DODD. I believe it was the Harry Bridges Defense Committee.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you recall who was the chairman of that committee?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; I do not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you recall who was the secretary of that committee?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee arranged with you for that meeting?

Mr. DODD. I believe it was Miss Gardner.

Representative KEEFE. Of the Daily Worker?

Mr. DODD. No. I do not know whether she had any connection with it.

Representative KEEFE. Who was Miss Gardner?

Mr. DODD. I believe she was the secretary of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. I think she was the secretary of that committee.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You now recall that she was the secretary?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know who she was at that time?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How did you happen to give the use of your apartment under those circumstances? You must have known something about her to permit that.

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then you did it just out of your friendship for Harry Bridges?

Mr. DODD. I had never met Harry Bridges before that meeting. But I did not believe from the evidence that Dean Landis of the Harvard Law School had heard—well, he had said that he did not find the charges had been proved that Mr. Bridges was a Communist.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where was Mr. Landis at Harvard or at Yale?

Mr. DODD. At Harvard.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What do you say his contention was?

Mr. DODD. That the charges had not been proved.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What was the hearing you now refer to?

Mr. DODD. In the hearings that I believe the Department of Labor had ordered on Harry Bridges.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In the special hearings?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What did you say about that hearing?

Mr. DODD. That I felt Dean Landis had expressed a doubt, or that there had not been sufficient proof that Bridges was a Communist.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And when Miss Gardner called you she said she wanted an opportunity for Harry Bridges to meet the press?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did Harry Bridges meet what you call the radical press or the conservative press?

Mr. DODD. All of the press.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was a representative of the New York Times there?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; and of the Associated Press and others.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And a representative of the Daily Worker?

Mr. DODD. I presume so. But I do not know about a representative of the Daily Worker.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How many people were present?

Mr. DODD. About 30.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And Miss Gardner took care of the bills, as far as you know?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you ever seen Miss Gardner before that date?

Mr. DODD. No; I had never met her before that date.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen her since?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative POWERS. You never met her before that time?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Would it not appear rather odd that Miss Gardner would call your home and ask that Harry Bridges, an admitted Communist, be permitted to hold a meeting in your apartment if you did not know him?

Mr. DODD. As I say, I had never met him or her. I have seen her name associated with the Harry Bridges Defense Committee.

Representative POWERS. How could you open your home to such a thing?

Mr. DODD. Well, as I have said, I was basing my judgment on what Mr. Bridges was from the decision that Dean Landis had made.

Representative POWERS. Have you any idea why this lady picked on you?

Mr. DODD. No; I have no idea.

Representative POWERS. It seems more than strange that she should single you out as the particular person whose home should be used for such a purpose.

Mr. DODD. Well, she was sure that I had worked for the American League for Peace and Democracy. She had seen my name.

Representative POWERS. Then you think that was the reason she called you?

Mr. DODD. That might have been the reason.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You had been identified with many organizations which we will say were liberal.

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Which were leftist, would be a better expression.

Mr. DODD. I would say liberal.

Representative KEEFE. Would not leftist better express it?

Mr. DODD. You might call it that.

Representative KEEFE. The writers always refer to them as leftist or rightist organizations.

Mr. DODD. My definition of them would be liberal.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever lectured under the auspices of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir. And that again was a part of my duties as speaker and fund raiser for Spanish aid.

Major ALLEN. Were you regularly employed in that capacity?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Major ALLEN. Would you mind stating how they paid you?

Mr. DODD. I was paid \$1,200 and fees for lecturing. It was \$1,200 a year and living expenses, plus a general fee for speaking before organizations, which was \$25.

Major ALLEN. Were you ever connected with an organization known as the American Student Union?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Major ALLEN. You do not know that organization?

Mr. DODD. I have heard of it.

Representative POWERS. Have you ever sponsored anything that that organization held?

Mr. DODD. I never sponsored one. I wrote a letter while I was at William and Mary College, a letter signed by several graduate students and professors there, asking the students if they were interested in that organization they could have an opportunity to hear a member of the organization who would come to Williamsburg and speak about it.

Representative POWERS. Then you did have a connection with it?

Mr. DODD. I did not consider that a connection.

Representative POWERS. What would it have been if not a connection?

Mr. DODD. I, along with others, simply presented a letter to the student paper, calling on the students and the faculty and the townspeople to indicate a wish in that respect. But I was never a member of the organization, and never advocated that people join it. I simply stated if they were interested they might have an opportunity to hear a member of the organization speak about it.

Representative POWERS. Did they have members of that organization there?

Mr. DODD. Do you mean in Williamsburg?

Representative POWERS. I mean in the American Student Union.

Mr. DODD. I presume so.

Major ALLEN. What kind of organization was it, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. DODD. It was a peace organization. It also had a youth program, supported the American youth program. I think it was called the Youth Act, which was roughly the ideas behind the Youth Act, to get more Government aid for students, to enable students who could not afford to go to school and college, to get some kind of subsidy from the Government. I believe the N. Y. A. is a part of that program.

Representative POWERS. Did the American Youth Congress grow out of this organization?

Mr. DODD. I think so. I think it was one of the founding organizations.

Representative POWERS. The American Youth Congress has been found to be subversive under the findings of the Attorney General of the United States, and this, of course, had something to do with that. It was all interwoven or all sprang from the other or had some relationship to it.

Mr. DODD. I was never a member of the American Student Union, nor a member of the American Youth Congress.

Representative POWERS. Did I understand you to testify that this was a peace organization?

Mr. DODD. That was one of its aims.

Representative POWERS. Let me ask you this question: Were you very anti-British before Russia was attacked by Germany?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. You say you were not?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Would you say that none of your speeches or articles or addresses would give anyone that impression?

Mr. DODD. No. I have been critical, as I think everybody has, of certain policies of Britain, but I have never been anti-British.

Representative POWERS. Was your attitude changed after Russia was attacked by Germany?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever been connected with or lectured for the Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. That is a confusion with my father.

Major ALLEN. I know there is some confusion.

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything at all about this organization?

Mr. DODD. No; I do not.

Major ALLEN. Were you ever connected with or did you ever lecture for the Massachusetts Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. That was my father, too.

Major ALLEN. Were you ever a member of or connected with an organization known as the League of Women Shoppers?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; that was my father, also.

Major ALLEN. Were you ever a member of or connected with an organization known as Conference on Pan American Democracy?

Mr. DODD. I am on their letterhead; yes. I might explain that my father was on their letterhead as a sponsor, and after his death, to the best of my recollection, I received a letter from that organization, together with their program, and it sounded reasonable, and they wanted to know if I desired to replace my father's name on it. Without making any further investigation than reading the program I agreed to it. That was the extent of my participation in the program.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that organization have a constitution and bylaws?

Mr. DODD. I presume so.

The CHAIRMAN. But do you know?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of that organization?

Mr. DODD. To promote a good neighbor policy and to give information on what was going on, current topics, in South and Central America.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, were you connected with or did you ever lecture for an organization known as the Community Council for the Defense of American Democracy?

Mr. DODD. I do not know. Have you the date on that?

Major Allen. No; I have not.

Mr. DODD. Community Council on what, did you ask?

Major ALLEN. The Community Council for the Defense of American Democracy.

Mr. DODD. I believe that is also one of the organizations that my father spoke on, although I am not sure.

Major ALLEN. That was February 2, 1938.

Mr. DODD. I have now found the date, February 2, 1938. Well, now, I am not sure about that. According to my records it was my father who spoke there and not me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything at all about this Community Council?

Mr. DODD. No further than that I imagine if it is in New York—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do not imagine. If you do not know, tell us so.

Mr. DODD. I think it was a local branch—no; not a local branch, but a group of local organizations in Community that asked speakers from the American League to come and speak to them on Spain or on China.

Representative POWERS. What was the name of that organization, Major Allen?

Major ALLEN. Community Council for the Defense of American Democracy.

Mr. DODD. That is the reason I said I might have spoken to it, because I do not recall everything that I speak for. If it was under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy, then I very well might have spoken for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know any of the organizers of this group of men?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, were you ever connected with or did you ever lecture for an organization known as the American League On War and Fascism?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. That is the old League for Peace and Democracy, as I understand it.

Major ALLEN. I believe that is right. The one succeeded the other.

Mr. DODD. That is right. When I was in the organization the name was American League for Peace and Democracy.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, you have a sister Martha, have you not?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Major ALLEN. She is Mrs. Stern?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Major ALLEN. Is she older or younger than yourself?

Mr. DODD. Younger.

Major ALLEN. Where does she live?

Mr. DODD. In New York.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, did you appear on a radio program with Madame Tabouis in the winter of 1941?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Major ALLEN. She was a French woman, was she not?

Mr. DODD. At that time. I think she has since become an American citizen.

Major ALLEN. In what capacity was she employed, if she was employed, by station WMCA in New York?

Mr. DODD. She was employed by Modern Industrial Bank. She and I had a news comment program which we did three times a week, and we were paid for that. We interpreted news.

Representative POWERS. Did you visit the Russian Ambassador before any of those broadcasts?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Did you receive your material or instructions as to what to say on the radio broadcast from him? Did you get any suggestions from the Russian Ambassador?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative POWERS. Do you recall any articles that you wrote for a magazine known as the Champion magazine?

Mr. DODD. I wrote one article—it was not written for that magazine exclusively. I was asked to write an article on German universities, what had happened to German universities, by Rabbi Wise, for his magazine, which I believe is called Opinion. It is a magazine of Jewish life and letters. It was in one of the early spring issues of that magazine, and I got a request from a magazine called the Champion to write an article for them. I simply gave them a copy of the article which I had written for Opinion and sent it on and it was published under my name.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that article about? What was the subject matter discussed in it?

Mr. DODD. The effect on universities and teachers and schools under fascism. Of course a good deal of information I had gotten from actually being in a German university; how many teachers had been dismissed for refusal to conform with the Nazi creed, and how many

people, and just what the students and organizations were, the kind of work they did.

The CHAIRMAN. In the article were you critical of the Nazi regime?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I could hardly have lived in Germany and not have been critical. In fact, much of my activity in anti-Fascist work has been predicated on my personal experience which I got as a student and as my father's personal secretary in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you leave Germany before your father did?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I left in 1935. Of course I visited him several times, several years later, before he returned. He left in 1937, the last of 1937.

Major ALLEN. Were your articles known as extremely anti-Nazi?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Major ALLEN. Did you return to Europe in 1936 or 1937?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Major ALLEN. What was the occasion of your return to Europe?

Mr. DODD. I went to work for the National Peace Campaign. I was offered a job to come over and do editorial work and speaking and organizing for that organization. It was an outgrowth of the League of Nations Association in England. One of the earlier sponsors and the president of the organization was Lord Robert Cecil, who was a member of the House of Lords. I was asked by Dolinet to come over and do the job.

Major ALLEN. Was he a Frenchman?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Major ALLEN. Was he a French publisher?

Mr. DODD. Not that I know of.

Representative POWERS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. DODD. Not that I know of.

Major ALLEN. What was his business?

Mr. DODD. He was one of the secretaries of the International Peace Campaign. He was, I guess, what we would call the executive secretary of the International Peace Campaign. My father knew Lord Cecil quite well and I presume that it was at Lord Cecil's suggestion that I was asked to come over and take this job.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He used to be Sir Robert Cecil?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you know him well—a stocky, sort of bald individual?

Mr. DODD. Yes; that is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he a sponsor of this organization?

Mr. DODD. He was the president.

Major ALLEN. Did you later return to America and organize an American branch of that International Peace Campaign?

Mr. DODD. That is right. I believe that has already gone into the record in my explanation of how I got into the work at Mountain Lake.

Representative POWERS. Who was in the organization, in the group in America?

Mr. DODD. Dr. Henry Atkinson of the Church Peace Union; Clark Eichelberger, who later became secretary, I believe, of an organization called Concerted Peace Efforts. Those were two of the people that I recall.

Representative POWERS. Were any of the gentlemen associated with you in that movement Communists or fellow travelers?

Mr. DODD. Not to my knowledge.

Representative POWERS. Extreme leftists, would you call any of them?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representatives POWERS. All of them were liberals?

Mr. DODD. No. I think probably some would be considered conservative. I believe Atkinson would be considered conservative.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you familiar with the answer that James Lawrence Fly filed with the Honorable Clifton A. Woodrum in the early part of this year?

Mr. DODD. I have a copy of it. I am not very familiar with it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You have read it through, I take it?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you notice the number of times it said that this was not you; it was your father?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you in a position to say that it was your father?

Mr. DODD. He is dead, and it would be difficult.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How often was Mr. Fly in a position to state definitely that it was your father and not you?

Mr. DODD. Simply on my recollection.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You put it on his shoulders?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You are quite sure that that is the only—

Mr. DODD (interrupting). He never knew my father personally; and I am sure he would not have any other way of knowing except from what I told him.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression—how did your father happen to get into that and not you? Or did you get into it?

Mr. DODD. The reason was because he had a more distinguished name than I.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That did not get him into the American League Against War and Fascism, or any of these other organizations, such as the Washington Book Shop.

Mr. DODD. It did not. He was American Ambassador to Germany.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Was he American Ambassador to Germany at the time you came here to work for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That was what year?

Mr. DODD. In 1937.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In 1938, in February, an aid China rally sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. Was that speaker you or your father?

Mr. DODD. In February 1938?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Mr. DODD. That was undoubtedly me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It might interest you to know that Mr. Fly said that was your father. After all, you knew that the speaker for the American League for Peace and Democracy in 1938 would have been William E. Dodd, Jr., would it not?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I knew that I spoke at that time, certainly. He might also have spoken at that time.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The Daily Worker for February 1938 reported that you were a speaker at the anti-Nazi rally sponsored by the Council for the Defense of American Democracy. What was that council that you spoke for?

Mr. DODD. I have been asked about that before, and I believe it is in the record. I have already explained what I know. I knew very little about it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was a council for the defense of American democracy. You are going to get yourself caught if you refer back to that record. You had better refer to what you know of your own knowledge, and not what Mr. Fly tried to make you say.

Will you testify under oath as to what your connection was with the Community Council for the Defense of American Democracy? You did appear as speaker for it on how many occasions?

Mr. DODD. I know that Mr. Fly said it was my father.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But you do not subscribe to that here?

Mr. DODD. I would not say that I did not speak for it. There were a number of organizations that I spoke for.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you ever remember your father speaking for the Community Council for the Defense of American Democracy?

Mr. DODD. I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He was at that time still lecturing for the Knife and Fork Club, was he not?

Mr. DODD. I do not know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I heard him under the auspices of that organization, but he was not at that time speaking for any of these so-called liberal organizations, was he? Do you recall any?

Mr. DODD. I know that he spoke for the League of Women Shoppers down here in Washington; and that has been considered a liberal organization.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The Coordinating Committee for Lifting the Embargo put out a pamphlet and listed the name of William E. Dodd. Would you say that was you or your father?

Mr. DODD. I would have to see the statement.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. We have it in the exhibits. We do not have it here now.

Mr. DODD. I might very well have written it, because I was in favor of lifting the embargo.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You had an open position on that matter, did you not?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. No one could have had any doubt as to your attitude toward lifting the embargo?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. "News You Don't Get" was a pamphlet put out by the Conference on Pan-American Democracy. You were identified with that organization, were you not?

Mr. DODD. I am now.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The Conference on Pan-American Democracy?

Mr. DODD. My father was, also, before he died. He was a sponsor.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you or did your father, then, sign the publication entitled "News You Don't Get?"

Mr. DODD. I don't know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You could not say specifically?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You would not say it was your father or that it was you?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You have no definite opinion on that.

How about the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain?

Representative POWERS. Will you pardon me if I have the record show at this point that the Attorney General has listed the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as one of the organizations having possible subversive activities.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. This Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain stated that you presided at a banquet relating to a conference to lift the embargo.

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did your father?

Mr. DODD. Yes; he did.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He definitely did?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Were you a sponsor of Films for Democracy?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The circular entitled "In Defense of Our Bill of Rights"—were you a signer of that?

Mr. DODD. I could have been. I think probably both my father and I were signers of it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In fact, I believe you have testified previously that you did sign the Defense of the Bill of Rights?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The League of Women Shoppers—what was your connection with that?

Mr. DODD. I had no connection with that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. None whatever?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. There was some mention of a committee sponsored by the League of Women Shoppers espousing a boycott against Japanese goods. You did not attend that?

Mr. DODD. Not that I recall.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was staged at Governor Pinchot's home.

Mr. DODD. That was here in Washington. I know it was my father. I recall now specifically.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The New Masses reports that you signed a call to the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers.

Mr. DODD. I did not sign; no.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That was your father?

Mr. DODD. No. My father was dead then.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That was April 22, 1941. You did not sign it?

Mr. DODD. No; sir; I did not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The issues of the Daily Worker for June 10 and 11, 1938, said you spoke under the sponsorship of the Massachusetts Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts. Would that be correct or not?

Mr. DODD. No; that would not be correct. My father spoke.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—the Daily Worker of January 19, 1938, reports that you spoke at a meeting of that organization. Was that you or your father?

Mr. DODD. That was me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You did speak there?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Now, Mr. Dodd, before going further with the list I would like to remind you that Mr. Fly, replying to Mr. Woodrum, said you did attend the meeting at Governor Pinchot's place. Previously you said you furnished him with information. Now, you testified that you did not attend that party.

Mr. DODD. At Governor Pinchot's?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Mr. DODD. I did not attend.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Mr. Fly, then, is just guilty of a misstatement?

Mr. DODD. I don't know how he could have stated that. There is a possibility of typographical errors.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He went on to give the description of the party that you had given him.

Mr. DODD. At Governor Pinchot's?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Mr. DODD. I am sorry, but I was not there.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. He was drawing on his imagination?

Mr. DODD. I don't know where he got that.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are we to judge the correctness of other things in Mr. Fly's answer by that?

Mr. DODD. I don't think so. I am not impugning Mr. Fly's motives.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. No; I am not trying to impugn his motives. I just want to find out whether Mr. Fly's memorandum is based upon evidence which you furnished him or upon evidence which he got from thin air.

Mr. DODD. I presume it is based on information and on evidence that I furnished him. Not directly. I have never talked to him. This was prepared by one of his secretaries.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And now we come back to the New Masses of April 21, 1941. I asked you if you signed that call for the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers, or did your father, and you said, "Neither. My father was dead and I did not sign it." Is that correct?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I would like to call your attention to item 24 of Mr. Fly's report. He says you did sign it.

Now, may I go to the Daily Worker of February 1938 relating to a rally for China relief. You testified about that, did you not?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You spoke at that meeting in February 1938—the 26th of February?

Mr. DODD. I am sure I did, although I do not recall the meeting. But there was nothing to prevent my speaking at it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The United Student Peace Committee of the American Student Union. Were you a speaker at a rally which it held on April 28, 1938?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Who was?

Mr. DODD. If anybody by the name of Dodd spoke, it was my father; it was not me, because I was involved in a campaign for peace at the time and I had no time, in the first place, to do any speaking.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. So that was your father.

The New York Times of January 13, 1939, published an open letter sponsored by the Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo. Did you sign that letter?

Mr. DODD. I believe I did. It could have been my father. It might have been both. I know I would have signed it and, to my recollection, I did sign it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Mr. Fly has his opinion as to who signed it. What is your opinion?

Mr. DODD. Well, I signed it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The Washington Committee for Democratic Action?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. When was the Washington Committee for Democratic Action formed?

Mr. DODD. I don't know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I refer to one other subject, with reference to this Modern Industrial Bank of New York. Is that a bank?

Mr. DODD. It is a bank.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What have been its banking functions? You were on its pay roll, were you not?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What particular type of deposits does it accept and what type of loans does it make?

Mr. DODD. Frankly, I don't know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You were on its pay roll.

Mr. DODD. I was on its pay roll.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I want to know something about its banking functions.

Mr. DODD. I am sorry; I cannot tell you, because I don't know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Is it a bank?

Mr. DODD. It is a bank. It says it is a bank.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where it is located?

The CHAIRMAN. Ask him what he did.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You were a propagandist, were you not?

Mr. DODD. I was simply a commentator along with Madame Genevieve Tabouis, and the bank paid our salaries on the radio station. They paid for the time on the radio station.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You would not go to work for an organization without knowing something about its main office, where it had its main office, its banking structure.

Mr. DODD. You mean, the address?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes.

Mr. DODD. In New York City.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where?

Mr. DODD. I don't know. I am sorry. If I know anything about the way banks and other institutions work, they farm out their advertising to advertising agencies; and my dealings were with the advertising agency.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I have the name of that advertising agency?

Mr. DODD. No. I cannot recall it. I could find it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Your dealings were with it. How long did you work for it?

Mr. DODD. From December 1940 to around the 1st of April 1941.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Five months?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You drew your pay steadily during that time. Were you paid in cash or by check?

Mr. DODD. By check.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where was the office of the institution which issued you the check?

Mr. DODD. I would have to go into my files to find out.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I never had so much money in my life that I could not remember for whom I worked. If I was drawing regularly a salary check week by week and month by month I would know who signed that check. Who did sign your checks—the Modern Industrial Bank?

Mr. DODD. No; the advertising agency.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What advertising agency was it? Was it Bruce Barton's outfit?

Mr. DODD. No. If I heard it I would probably recognize it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did they write the check?

Mr. DODD. They wrote the check.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. As a commentator, what did you discuss?

Mr. DODD. Foreign policy, foreign affairs.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Is it not true that the Modern Industrial Bank was a representative of foreign interests?

Mr. DODD. To my knowledge, it was not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. This French lady who was connected with it—was she an American citizen?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did she not come directly from France to represent this group?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where did she come from?

Mr. DODD. She came from France as a refugee from France, and she had been, I presume, living in New York quite some time, several months. Her connections were with the bank. She knew several of the officers of the bank. My sister and I knew Madame Tabouis, and she arranged for a joint news comment program.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In other words, she arranged with you for the program?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where did you get your budget of news out of which you made your comments?

Mr. DODD. From all kinds of sources. We got it from the State Department.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Here in Washington?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What person in the State Department supplied you with the news?

Mr. DODD. Pell. He supplied Madame Tabouis.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you know his whole name?

Mr. DODD. I believe it is Robert Pell. I think his first name is Robert.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the subjects that you discussed for this bank?

Mr. DODD. Oh, yes. I remember a number of them. We spoke one day on Darlan; one evening on Petain; one evening on Balkan problems. One time we spoke on Russian foreign policy. One time we spoke on Chinese foreign policy. We confined ourselves to foreign news and not to domestic news. She being a noncitizen regarded that it was not her province to discuss domestic news.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it an economic discussion or a political discussion?

Mr. DODD. It was a political discussion; diplomatic and political.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Would it shock you if it developed that the Modern Industrial Bank was purely a propaganda organization and that it had no banking structure, no deposits, and no withdrawals?

Mr. DODD. It would, yes; frankly.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You had some concept as to what type of institution it was. Did you ever go by it?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I passed branches of it. I believe there is one on Seventh Avenue, about Forty-first or Fortieth Street.

Representative POWERS. Does it look like an ordinary bank?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I was just trying to find out if you knew what it looked like. You worked for it, but curiosity had never led you into it. For 5 months it was your employer.

Mr. DODD. Surely.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was paying you money, and you were not curious as to what sort of an establishment it was?

Mr. DODD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it pay you your salary?

Mr. DODD. By check.

The CHAIRMAN. By check on this bank?

Mr. DODD. That I don't recall. It probably was. The advertising agency paid me.

Representative KEEFE. But you do not recall what the advertising agency was?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. I could find it if I had time to go over the records. I have them at home.

Representative KEEFE. Have you ever had any other contracts with any other advertising agency?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative KEEFE. This is the only radio contract you ever had with an advertising agency?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you cannot tell us under oath the name of the one agency that you have done business with in your life?

Mr. DODD. I could guess at it, but I don't think that would help.

Representative KEEFE. I don't want you to guess. I am just utterly and completely astounded. That is all I can say.

I would like to ask a couple of questions about the situation, if I may, Judge.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Major ALLEN. Congressman, may I just ask one question?

Representative KEEFE. Yes. Go ahead.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Dodd, have you ever visited the Soviet Union?

Mr. DODD. I have been across it. I went from Paris to Shanghai for the International Peace Campaign, and of course in order to do that I had to cross it.

Major ALLEN. You went by air?

Mr. DODD. Part of the way. I went to Moscow by air. I then took the trans-Siberian railway from there.

Major ALLEN. Did you ever make any other trip by air to Russia?

Mr. DODD. Yes. In 1935, just after I took my doctor's degree in Berlin, I went for 2 weeks.

Major ALLEN. What was the occasion of that visit?

Mr. DODD. Intourist. Just to visit—just a tourist trip. I had gotten my degree and wanted a little vacation.

Major ALLEN. And you made that trip by airplane?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I ask a question with reference to your draft status? Would you mind telling us what that situation is at present?

Mr. DODD. I am in 3-A at the present time.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. At one time the Federal Communications Commission asked that you be deferred, asked your draft board to defer you as an essential person?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you recall that?

Mr. DODD. I have the date here; yes. I just happened to see this in the file today. May I refer to it?

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Yes. I would like to have you tell me upon what theory you felt justified in permitting your employer to ask for your deferment as a necessary worker.

Mr. DODD. I had nothing to do with it. In every case when they asked for deferment I did not know that they had asked for the deferment. Here [indicating] is the request that the Federal Communications Commission received on June 19, 1942. Form 42-A, affidavit to support claim for occupational deferment to be filled in [reading]:

Do you consider him a necessary man?

If you do not wish to request deferment for this registrant, please let us know at once.

That was signed by the chairman of the local board of selective service of Loudoun County, Va.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Now, wait. That is in reply. I think you should point out for the record that it says at the top of it, "Re William E. Dodd, Jr."

Therefore, it is in reply to a request for your deferment, is it not? They did not initiate this out of the blue sky, did they?

Mr. DODD. I presume someone wrote. This is the only thing I know about it; and I did not know of the existence of it until today, in fact.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You went there to work in December of 1941, and in June of 1942 or earlier the local draft board of Loudoun County, Leesburg, Va., was asked to defer you and place you in class 2-B as a necessary war worker?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And the Federal Communications Commission, through its Mr. Thompson A. Moore, administrative officer of the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, on the 20th of June, swore that you were essential to the war effort. Is that correct? Is that your understanding?

Mr. DODD. That is my understanding; yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did he or did he not discuss this with you?

Mr. DODD. He did not discuss it with me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. At any time?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did Mr. Fly or any other person discuss it with you?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Can they make such request without discussing it with you? Or do you know?

Mr. DODD. I don't know.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But they did not discuss it with you?

Mr. DODD. They did not discuss it with me.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Were you reclassified at that time?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You have never been reclassified?

Mr. DODD. Yes; I was reclassified on March 29, 1948.

Representative KEEFE. You were changed from 1-A to 3-A on March 30, 1948?

Mr. DODD. Yes; that is right.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. March 30, 1948, is very recent.

Representative KEEFE. That was a result of an appeal which was taken in your case when the draft board refused to modify its original listing of you in 1-A classification, and an appeal was taken, and on that appeal the local board was overturned and you were given a 3-A status. Is not that true?

Mr. DODD. That I do not know. The only record I have of it says, "You have been classified in class 3-A by the local board." That is all I know about it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you at any time appeal personally from your 1-A classification?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. At no time?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. The draft board of its own volition appealed your classification, did it?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative KEEFE. Not the draft board.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How can it be done otherwise?

Representative POWERS. His employer can do it.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They can ask for a deferment.

Representative POWERS. They can ask for an appeal.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Without his knowledge?

Representative POWERS. I do not know whether they can do it without his knowledge.

Representative KEEFE. How old are you, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. DODD. Thirty-seven.

Representative KEEFE. And you are married and have one child?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. Is your wife dependent upon you?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. She can earn her own living. She is contributing to our income.

Representative KEEFE. Do you have an independent income besides what you earn?

Mr. DODD. No. She has an income, however, from her job.

Representative KEEFE. Is she employed?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Where is she working?

Mr. DODD. Over in the C. I. O. national office.

Representative KEEFE. What is her name there?

Mr. DODD. Audrey Dodd.

Representative KEEFE. What is her position in the C. I. O.?

Mr. DODD. She is a secretary.

Representative KEEFE. Here in Washington?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. She is doing secretarial work?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know how much she earns there?

Mr. DODD. I don't know what she is getting now. I think she started out at \$1,800.

Representative KEEFE. How old is your child?

Mr. DODD. Eighteen months.

Representative KEEFE. You have servants that take care of the child?

Mr. DODD. I have one.

Representative KEEFE. You are living in Washington at the present time?

Mr. DODD. In Virginia; Arlington. That is metropolitan Washington.

Representative KEEFE. I would like to ask a couple of questions about this rather astounding broadcasting situation. If I understand your testimony as you gave it before the subcommittee of the Committee Investigating Subversive and un-American activities, you and this woman received jointly \$150 a week?

Mr. DODD. That is right. That was the salary; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. State on the record what woman you are talking about.

Mr. DODD. Madame Genevieve Tabouis.

Representative KEEFE. So you got \$75 a week apiece and split it?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And whatever expense you had—

Mr. DODD (interrupting). We had to take out of what we got.

Representative KEEFE. You made three broadcasts a week?

Mr. DODD. Yes; that is correct.

Representative KEEFE. How long was each broadcast?

Mr. DODD. Fifteen minutes. We would broadcast 10 minutes, and there would be 5 minutes for the commercial.

Representative KEEFE. What was the commercial?

Mr. DODD. Advertising the bank.

Representative KEEFE. And you heard those commercials repeatedly?

Mr. DODD. I didn't listen to them. When we got through broadcasting we left the studio.

Representative KEEFE. Did they not put on the commercial before the broadcast?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I heard some of them; that is true.

Representative KEEFE. And after the broadcast and in the middle of it?

Mr. DODD. No. They did not interrupt the program.

Representative KEEFE. You must have heard some of these commercials.

Mr. DODD. Yes; I heard a few.

Representative KEEFE. I have done some broadcasting, and I know you cannot have commercials very well without knowing what the commercial is.

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. What were those commercials like? Did they give some idea as to what this bank was?

Mr. DODD. Yes; that it was a bank and that they loaned money.

Representative KEEFE. You had a contract, did you not, for this broadcasting?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Who signed the contract?

Mr. DODD. Madame Tabouis and myself and the lawyer for the bank.

Representative KEEFE. Whom did you do business with when you signed the contract?

Mr. DODD. With the advertising agency; that is, we simply submitted our scripts to the station in the late afternoon before we went on the air, and they, of course, because of the connection, I believe, at that time between WMCA and the Modern Industrial Bank—I think there was some interest in the station held by the bank. I do not know that much. The man would read the scripts in the radio station. I suppose you might call him a censor.

Representative KEEFE. Mr. Dodd, let us be fair with one another in this matter. It was just a short time ago that this occurred, was it not?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. You were living in New York?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And this Madame Tabouis was somebody that you had known over in France?

Mr. DODD. I had known her; that is right.

Representative KEEFE. She was a refugee and came to live in New York?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you continued the friendship?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. What was her employment when she was in France?

Mr. DODD. She was what they call a political writer for Louvre.

Representative KEEFE. And you decided to get up a joint broadcast?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. And discuss foreign affairs, and you sought an outlet for your broadcast and an opportunity not only to say something but to make a little income?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You had to have an income in order to live, did you not?

Mr. DODD. Certainly.

Representative KEEFE. And I assume that she did?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You discussed the situation of the possibilities of effecting a connection some place that would permit you and her to go on the air?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. To whom did you go to see about that?

Mr. DODD. It was a brother, I believe, of Lawrence Steinhart—not a brother, but a relative by marriage.

Representative KEEFE. What was he?

Mr. DODD. A lawyer for the Modern Industrial Bank.

Representative KEEFE. You went to see a lawyer for the Modern Industrial Bank?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. What did you go to see him for?

Mr. DODD. Because he knew Madame Tabouis personally and he thought it would be a good idea to help her to get a way to live, some money to live on, and he was interested in what she had to say on European affairs. So he wanted to get an outlet for her and me to speak. She had done some speaking before that by herself, but because she has a rather noticeable accent she does not carry too well on a radio program. She suggested getting me to be a commentator with her, and we would do kind of a dialogue.

Representative KEEFE. You discussed this with this man, who you say was an attorney for this bank?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. In his office, I assume?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And as a result of that conference what did you do?

Mr. DODD. They gave us three programs, two or three programs. They said they would try us out and see how they liked it.

Representative KEEFE. Who drew up the contract itself?

Mr. DODD. The advertising agency. After we had a trial period of a week, the advertising agency then sent us a contract. Madame Tabouis had a literary agent in New York, and I had one named Maxim Lieber, and he handled all the business relations we had between the advertising agency and ourselves.

Representative KEEFE. We have come down to the point where you went to the lawyer for the bank and he arranged for a couple of trial broadcasts, and after you had those, then they asked Mr. Lieber and the agent for Madame Tabouis to get together and arrange with some advertising agency, which you do not identify and do not know, to put you on the air?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And you signed a contract?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Where did you sign that?

Mr. DODD. In Mr. Lieber's office.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I at this time insert in the record the fact that the Modern Industrial Bank is a New York institution with offices on Fifth Avenue. It does a general industrial banking business under the New York Banking Department. It is a member of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and has probably \$15,000,000 in deposits and does a small industrial type or Morris Plan type of business.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see any connection between the Modern Industrial Bank and the charge of subversiveness on the part of the witness.

Are you through, Mr. Keefe?

Representative KEEFE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this Modern Industrial Bank a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. I have never heard of its being spoken of as such.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of its being such?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. I will explain my questions. As I understand the purpose of this committee, we were to find out whether a person connected with subversive organizations was a fit person for Government employ. I was just trying to find out for my own satisfaction—and I apologize to the other members of the committee—this young man's reaction toward his employer. I think if I had been on somebody's pay roll for 5 months at a salary amounting to more money than I had ever made in my life before, I would be somewhat interested in their activities. I think it is only fair to say, is it not, that the highest salary you got prior to getting in W. P. A. was \$1,500 a year?

Mr. DODD. I received \$1,900 at the University of North Carolina.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Then you jumped into W. P. A. at a salary of \$3,000 a year?

Mr. DODD. Yes; in 1938.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And then you went with these people at \$3,600?

Mr. DODD. Yes. It was not all clear. There were expenses.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. May I ask a couple of questions about Russia?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Are you familiar with the book entitled "The World Hails the Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union?"

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You did go to Russia twice?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. If I may try to refresh your recollection, it is a 247-page book printed in Russia by the Co-operative Society of Foreign Workers in the U. S. S. R., printed in 1938. Would that help you to remember it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You still do not remember it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In that book there is a quotation from William E. Dodd, Jr., which reads:

Twice I have made flying trips to the Soviet Union, and after each one I have left with the feeling that here is a nation which carries the future of our civilization. Here there is hope, justice, and progress. The heroic struggle which the Soviet Union has made for world peace is just beginning to be realized, and other democratic nations are recognizing that her way is the only way to preserve peace.

Is that a correct quotation from a previous writing?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you know that the Russian Government had officially adopted it and incorporated it in that pamphlet?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; I did not.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you still believe that the Soviet Nation does carry the future of civilization?

Mr. DODD. No; not in the way you have worded it. I felt when I wrote that that they were working for collective security and for world peace.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you believe that collective security is necessary for world peace?

Mr. DODD. I do; surely.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Do you believe that collective security is necessary for a progressive and liberal government?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You said of Russia, "Here there is hope, justice, and progress." Do you still subscribe to that?

Mr. DODD. There is progress and hope. I don't know whether there is justice or not. I sometimes doubt that there is now. But that was written in 1938.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Where did you print that?

Mr. DODD. I believe it was in Soviet Russia Today.

Representative POWERS. You have identified the quotation correctly as appearing in Soviet Russia Today.

I have a couple of questions, Judge.

Mr. DODD, the Communists advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, do they not?

Mr. DODD. Yes; I believe they do. At least they did at one time. Whether they do today or not is doubtful. Their line apparently changes.

Representative POWERS. I am about to read from a Federal Bureau of Investigation report:

A photographic copy of certain literature evidently issued by the Communist Party and bearing the signatures of scientists, educators, writers, artists, and others, was obtained from confidential informant No. 3. The literature was signed, among many other persons, by Martha Dodd, journalist; William E. Dodd, Jr., journalist; and William E. Dodd, former Ambassador to Germany. The literature reads as follows:

And I will read a paragraph from it [reading]:

We recognize particularly that serious efforts are being made to silence and suppress the Communist Party. We regard as significant the fact that precisely now Earl Browder, its general secretary, has been indicted on data which the Government has evidently had for years. We observe that a charge 4 years old has just now been revised against another official of the Communist Party, Sam Adams Darcy. Similarly, a minor technicality was invoked in order to rule all Communist candidates off the New York City ballot. Without legal right Representative Dies and his aides have conducted raids on Communist Party headquarters in several cities. Detroit police failed to give adequate protection to a legally held meeting addressed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, and an organized gang was allowed to assault people as they left the hall. Harvard University canceled a speaking engagement previously arranged for Mr. Browder.

You signed this piece of literature protesting against these things, did you not?

Mr. DODD. I don't remember seeing a copy of it. I didn't sign anything, to my knowledge; no.

Representative POWERS. I wonder, if I went through a little more of it—

Mr. DODD (interposing). It may be associated with other matters, just lumped together as part of that.

Representative POWERS. This was a pamphlet. Let me see whether this will refresh your memory. The F. B. I. says:

On the reverse side of the pamphlet was found the advertisement of a meeting to be held Sunday, February 4, 1940, at 2:30 p. m., at the National Press Auditorium, Fourteenth and F Streets N.W., evidently Washington, D. C., under the auspices of Washington Daily Worker Bureau, post-office box 1432. The meeting was to be addressed by Clarence Hathaway, editor in chief of the Daily Worker, and by Henry Winston, national Negro youth leader.

Does that refresh your memory as to whether you signed it or not?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. I never attended such a meeting.

Representative POWERS. I did not ask you whether you attended the meeting. I asked you whether that refreshed your memory about signing this particular pamphlet which the F. B. I. has listed in their report.

Mr. DODD. No, sir; I didn't sign it.

Representative POWERS. Thank you.

Representative KEEFE. Who got you to come to the Federal Communications Commission for a job? Who invited you down here?

Mr. DODD. Mr. Harold Graves.

Representative KEEFE. Who is he?

Mr. DODD. The assistant to the Director of the F. B. I. S.

Representative KEEFE. Did you receive a passport to go to Europe?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative KEEFE. I understand that the State Department has refused to issue a passport to you?

Mr. DODD. Yes; according to records that I saw today.

Representative KEEFE. Your outfit down there wanted to send you over to London, did they not?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. And you had to have a passport, and application was made for it, and the State Department has formally refused to grant you one to permit you to leave the country?

Mr. DODD. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. That is all.

Mr. DODD. I think I know why.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to make an explanation?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir. The diary that I edited—and, of course, I get credit for signing my name to it—my sister and I edited my father's diary while he was Ambassador in Berlin—was extremely critical of the State Department, certain State Department practices, and the refusal of the State Department to follow what he thought was a policy which would prevent war at that time, before his death, and he was very critical of the habits—that is, the expenditures and the diplomacy of some of the State Department officials. I know that they have never liked that criticism.

Representative KEEFE. They do not give expression to any such thing as that for their refusal to grant you a passport, do they?

Mr. DODD. No. I beg your pardon. I said this was just my own feeling.

Representative KEEFE. That is your assumption?

Mr. DODD. That is my assumption.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But you will admit that at the time you applied for the passport you were a member of the Washington Book Shop, which is regarded by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Therefore the passport application has to clear that obstacle.

Mr. DODD. That is quite true. May I make a brief statement on what the Attorney General has said as to certain organizations which he has labeled as subversive organizations? To my knowledge, there has been no legal test of what are subversive organizations. There has been no act of Congress establishing principles upon which organizations are subversive, except the Communist Party and the Nazi bund. There are acts of Congress that establish that those are subversive organizations. But there are very many other organizations which well-intentioned people have joined because they have been progressive and liberal. There may be Communists who have worked in them at some time or another in their history, and they have labeled them, I think unfairly, subversive organizations. Of course, until there is some law passed by Congress which would establish what is subversive and what is not, I think individuals are free to differ with the Attorney General on what is subversive and what is not. You asked me whether I regarded certain organizations as subversive, and I said no. That is my explanation of why I do not agree with the Attorney General on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Certain questions were asked you by Mr. Powers with reference to the F. B. I.'s record containing—

Certain literature evidently issued by the Communist Party, and bearing the signatures of scientists, educators, writers, artists, and others obtained from confidential informant No. 3. The literature was signed, among many other persons, by Martha Dodd, Journalist, William E. Dodd, Jr., Journalist, and William E. Dodd, former Ambassador to Germany.

Did I understand you to say that you never saw that?

Mr. DODD. Is there a date on that?

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to say that you never saw that photostatic copy which was obtained by a confidential authority of the F. B. I. charging you, your father, and your sister with being connected with this statement, which is as follows:

We, the undersigned, believe that civil liberties are the distinguishing work of American democracy. We believe, furthermore, that the Bill of Rights must apply to the rights of all Americans—or that it will prove a cheat for all. We do not accept the dangerous proposition, now being broadcast from certain quarters, that civil rights can be withheld from this dissident minority or that, at the pleasure of those who may have the power to do so.

Mr. DODD. That is a different quotation.

Representative POWERS. That is a different quotation from the one I read, but it is contained in that same pamphlet.

Mr. DODD. I don't recall the pamphlet. I recall a statement that I signed and my father and my sister signed that we were against suppression of the Communist Party.

Representative POWERS. That was what I read to you.

Mr. DODD. That was a part of that same pamphlet?

Representative POWERS. Yes.

Mr. DODD. That pamphlet probably embodied several leaflets or several letters. I don't recall. As far as my knowledge goes, I didn't sign it as a pamphlet and I didn't see it as a pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that this quotation was in there or would you say it was not?

We, the undersigned, believe that civil liberties are the distinguishing mark of American democracy. We believe, furthermore, that the Bill of Rights must apply to the rights of all Americans—or that it will prove a cheat for all. We do not accept the dangerous proposition now being broadcast from certain quarters that civil rights can be withheld from this dissident minority or that, at the pleasure of those who may have the power to do so.

Mr. DODD. That statement in itself, by itself, I subscribed to, and I signed the letter, and, as I recall, it was published in the New York Times under the signatures of a number of educators, artists, writers, and so forth. But I know nothing about its having been put out by the Communist Party or in Communist literature.

Representative POWERS. In that same pamphlet the F. B. I. quotes what I will read to you:

We recognize particularly that serious efforts are being made to silence and suppress the Communist Party.

The F. B. I. says that that is a part of the same thing that you and your father and sister saw.

Mr. DODD. I don't recall that part of it. It may have happened, of course, that the statement that we signed and which was printed in the Times was used in a pamphlet that may have been put out by the Communist Party, and they have used the signatures for that pamphlet. But I never saw the pamphlet in which it was used in such a context and out of the context, I might say.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you sign the document that was published in the New York Times?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. If it should develop that those words that Mr. Powers has read occurred in the New York Times, then you would say you did sign it and remember signing it?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What appeared in the New York Times went into this document?

Mr. DODD. Among other things, I suppose. There was no statement there which was not in the New York Times letter.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. A circular which is called "In Defense of the Bill of Rights" is what we are discussing, is it not?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. That listed you as a signer?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You have admitted that you did sign it?

Mr. DODD. As it appeared in the New York Times.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And it was endorsed by an editorial in the New York Times?

Mr. DODD. I believe so.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And you signed the whole thing that appeared in the New York Times?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. They did not add to it in the Times?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And that is a part of it as it appeared in the Times?

Mr. DODD. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. Have you written any books, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. DODD. I have written one. I have written A Doctor's Dissertation which was published.

Representative KEEFE. That is one that was published in Leipzig?

Mr. DODD. Yes. I have edited my father's dairy. Those are the only books I have been connected with.

Representative KEEFE. Have you written any monographs or articles?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; except the one that was mentioned in the Champion and in the magazine called Opinion.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You wrote an article in Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. DODD. That was just a small statement used from a number of people. It was a statement rather than an article.

Representative KEEFE. Do you have any manuscripts of any speeches you have made?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Do you have any with you?

Mr. DODD. No; I have not. All of the speeches are in my files in the country.

Representative KEEFE. What is the general character of the speeches you have made around the country?

Mr. DODD. Anti-Hitler, anti-Fascist; for collective security; that is, for cooperation in the League of Nations with nations that would support collective security.

Representative KEEFE. What is the character of the work that you do now for the Federal Communications Commission?

Mr. DODD. Editorial work.

Representative KEEFE. What is the type of editorial work that you do?

Mr. DODD. You take broadcasts, summaries of broadcasts, or texts of broadcasts made by various radio stations in the world. They come in on paper; carbon copies come in and you have to edit it. In other words, you put in the "thes" and "ands" and divide it up into paragraphs and give it a slug line. It is newspaper work. It is copy editing.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How much newspaper experience have you had other than that?

Mr. DODD. I had experience with this International Peace Campaign, which was an editorial job.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Did you ever work on a city desk?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you ever been a reporter?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Have you ever been a copy chopper?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What particular qualifications did you feel you had to be a news editor?

Mr. DODD. I was brought into the Federal Communications Commission in the Report Section. They put out a mimeograph report summarizing German broadcasts; that is, the main news items that are put out on the Berlin radio. There were four or five of us who sat in a room and simply picked out the items which were new each day and threw away the old items. We were simply doing an editing job in the sense that we were making it readable, putting in the "thes" and "and's" and paragraphing it. We don't change the meaning. It is not the duty of the Editorial Report Section to ever change the meaning of any reports that come in. We quote them directly as they come in over the radio.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What were you doing when you first came into the office?

Mr. DODD. That was it; in the German office.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Now you do what?

Mr. DODD. I do the same thing for a whole mass of material that goes on to a wire and goes out to the various agencies of the Government.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. You entered the employ of the Government in what month?

Mr. DODD. December 1, 1941.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. What were you doing in June of 1942?

Mr. DODD. I was working in the Report Section.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In the German section?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. How long have you been doing this work?

Mr. DODD. Since September.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. In June you were just merely handling the German broadcasts?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Does it come in in English?

Mr. DODD. It comes in in German, and we have monitors.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. But you do not translate it?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was English that came to your desk?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. Therefore, your knowledge of French and German was of no value?

Mr. DODD. No.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. It was just a pure editing job?

Mr. DODD. Yes.

Representative ANDERSON of New Mexico. And on that basis the Federal Communications Commission decided that you were an essential war worker? Would you regard that as a fair statement?

Mr. DODD. I do not think that is a fair question. I am not judging myself. I do not know whether it is fair or not. If they think it is fair they would ask for it. If they don't think it is fair, then they are at fault and not the employees of the Commission. Probably there have been deferments, unfair deferments, requested for Government employees, but I am not the one to say that. I think the Government is the one to say that.

Representative GORE. Did you ever have any connection with the Young Communist League?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative GORE. Did you ever write for a magazine called the Champion Magazine?

Mr. DODD. An article of mine was reprinted in that magazine.

Representative GORE. Reprinted from another magazine?

Mr. DODD. Yes; I explained earlier to the chairman that I got a request from Rabbi Wise's magazine called Opinion, asking me to contribute an article on what I had seen in Germany, what I had seen happen to universities and schools. I wrote the article and sent copies of it to each of the magazines, and they printed it.

Representative GORE. Do you know any of the officials of the Young Communist League?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; may I add one clarification on that? The magazine, as far as I know, was a magazine which gave a list of sponsors.

Representative GORE. Do you have a copy of the article?

Mr. DODD. No, sir; I do not. I have one in Virginia, 50 miles out, but I didn't have time to go out and get it.

Representative GORE. The article itself would mean more to me than the magazine in which it was printed.

Mr. DODD. The Dies committee has a copy, I believe.

Representative GORE. I was not here at the time you were examined about the Washington Book Shop, and would like to ask you a question or two about that. You were and are now a member of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. DODD. That is correct; yes.

Representative GORE. You have remained a member, well knowing of the Attorney General's finding of fact?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative GORE. Does that hold true for any other organization which he has found to be a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. I believe that is the only one that I am now a member of. The International Peace Campaign is no longer in existence. The League for Peace and Democracy is no longer in existence. The Medical Aid to Spain is no longer in existence. All of the organizations that I used to be a member of have gone out of existence, I believe, except the Washington Book Shop.

Representative GORE. Did it occur to you to make any examination of the character of the organization named the Washington Book Shop after the Attorney General held that it was a subversive organization?

Mr. DODD. Well, my relationship with that organization is not that close. All I am is a member, and I receive certain rights and privileges of getting books at cheaper prices and records and whatever they have to sell.

Representative POWERS. But you did testify that you attended a meeting of theirs.

Mr. DODD. I said I addressed a meeting at their invitation when my father's diary was published. I spoke to hundreds of organizations who asked me to speak on the diary. I did it as a part of a promotion campaign, and it was done with the knowledge and at the suggestion of my publishers.

Representative GORE. Has it ever occurred to you that it might be the part of wisdom on the part of a Federal employee to withdraw his membership from an organization which had been held by the Attorney General of the United States to be subversive?

Mr. DODD. I have heard that argument, but as I tried to explain awhile ago, until there is a legal interpretation of what is a subversive organization I do not accept just the fact that it is branded as a subversive organization.

Representative GORE. I understand you have covered that more fully. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever published any articles indicating any doubt about your loyalty to this country or its form of government?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Representative GORE. Do you believe in a system of private enterprise?

Mr. DODD. I do.

Representative GORE. You believe in the capitalistic system?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Representative GORE. What is your attitude toward the Christian religion?

Mr. DODD. I am a Baptist. I do not go to church as regularly as I should, but I go reasonably regularly. I believe in Jesus and his teachings.

Representative GORE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever entertained the idea at any time in your life that you would be willing to overthrow by force and violence your Government in order to establish an ideal of government that you believed in?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I have nothing else. Do you have any further statements that you want to make?

Mr. DODD. No. I think I have covered it pretty well. I do not want to waste your time, because I know that you have many other things to do, and it is an imposition on your time already.

Representative KEEFE. Do you feel that you have had a fair opportunity to present your views and opinions as to these charges that have been made with reference to you?

Mr. DODD. Yes; I feel so.

Representative KEEFE. You have been fairly and reasonably treated by this committee?

Mr. DODD. Certainly.

Representative **KEEFE**. And have been given every opportunity to make any statement that you desired to make?

Mr. **DODD**. Yes, sir.

Representative **KEEFE**. That is all.

(The special subcommittee thereupon, at 4:20 p. m., went into executive session, after which an adjournment was taken until Thursday, April 15, 1943, at 10 a. m.)

THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1943.

The special subcommittee met at 2 p. m., pursuant to adjournment on Tuesday, April 13, 1943, in the hearing room of the Committee on Appropriations in the Capitol, Representative John H. Kerr, chairman of the special subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Representatives Kerr (chairman of the special subcommittee), Gore, Powers, and Keefe.

Present also: Maj. Matt H. Allen, counsel to the special subcommittee; R. E. Lambert, clerk to the special subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. The special subcommittee will come to order. Mr. Lovett, we will give you an opportunity to be heard in reference to various charges lodged against you, alleging that you have been guilty of some activity which has been subversive and having as its purpose the overthrow of our Government by force or violence. I believe your name is Robert Morss Lovett.

Mr. **LOVETT**. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Please stand, hold up your right hand, and be sworn: You solemnly swear that the evidence you will give before this special subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. **LOVETT**. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, ST. THOMAS, VIRGIN ISLANDS, GOVERNMENT SECRETARY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lovett, our attorney, Major Allen, has the record before him. He will propound to you various questions on the subject matter of the record we have before us, and you will please answer those questions and then make any explanation you may desire to make.

You may proceed, Major Allen.

Major **ALLEN**. Mr. Lovett, for the purpose of our record please state your name, age, residence, and present occupation.

Mr. **LOVETT**. My name is Robert Morss Lovett. My age is 72 years and 4 months. My residence is St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and my employment is Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands.

Representative **POWERS**. What is your salary as Secretary of the Virgin Islands?

Mr. **LOVETT**. It is \$5,800 a year.

Representative **POWERS**. And maintenance?

Mr. **LOVETT**. No; not "and maintenance."

Major **ALLEN**. Mr. Lovett, will you give us your educational background?

Mr. LOVETT. I graduated from Harvard University in 1892. I taught there for a year, and I was then a professor at the University of Chicago, or rather instructor and professor at the University of Chicago, from 1893 to 1898.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Lovett, I hand you a list of approximately 100 organizations in which it is alleged you are either a member or have been in some manner connected. Examine the list and state whether or not you have membership in or connection with those organizations.

Mr. Chairman, I will offer that list in evidence after Mr. Lovett answers my questions about it.

Mr. LOVETT. This list covers activities over many years, and my memory may not be absolutely exact in regard to every single one of these organizations. But for the most part I am sure the list is correct.

I have either been a member or a sponsor for or a contributor to these organizations or others of the same nature. And I might say that these organizations to which I have belonged could be classified as organizations for peace, as organizations for civil liberties, or as organizations directed toward education for a better social order.

Major ALLEN. Directing your attention to the organization known as the American League For Peace and Democracy, are you now or were you ever a member of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I was. I was vice president of it.

Major ALLEN. How long were you connected with that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. For approximately 4 years.

Major ALLEN. Are you now or have you ever been connected with an organization known as the American Youth Congress?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Major ALLEN. Are you now a member of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I was a member of that organization.

Major ALLEN. Have you at any time sponsored an organization known as the American Peace Mobilization, or the American Peoples Mobilization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. And may I make a statement, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LOVETT. That organization was formed in the cause of peace, with which cause I had been connected; and I believe that I had some influence among pacifists, among people whose main interest was in peace. When the organization was formed I stated that I would appear at the convention for the purpose of advocating peace by collective security, which at that moment meant all-out aid to England, to countries that were fighting for peace.

That view was not acceptable to the organization as such, and although they said they would welcome my appearance at the convention, I was unable to appear. My name appeared in connection with it because I intended to use my influence with those friends of peace, by pointing out that the way to peace at that time, and always—and I have always believed in peace—was through collective security, through aiding those nations then at war and which were standing for peace. I hope that that explanation will be understood by everyone.

Representative POWERS. Mr. Lovett, do you know that these organizations that Major Allen has just questioned you about, and that you admit both membership in and sponsorship of, have been listed by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not know that until yesterday. May I say that the statement was made yesterday that certain organizations had been pronounced subversive by the Attorney General, and I was asked what I should do as an employee of the Federal Government. I said I should resign.

Representative POWERS. Are you still a member of those organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. The most of those organizations are dedicated to peace, but any that I might be a member of at the present time I should resign from if only to avoid embarrassment to the Department of the Interior. I said as a citizen, and the question was asked: Would you as a citizen resign? I corrected my original answer to say that I should use the right of appeal. I believe that any organization pronounced subversive by the Attorney General of the United States should appeal against that decision if it has grounds to do so. I believe that it should notify all its members that it has been so pronounced as subversive, and give the members an opportunity to resign from the organization unless the organization takes the responsibility of clearing itself from the charge made.

Representative POWERS. Have you ever known any of these organizations to send a letter around to its members, or to anyone else, stating that the Attorney General of the United States had branded it as a subversive organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Never. And I have never known that the Attorney General has pronounced any organization as subversive. I have received no information of that sort of any kind.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Lovett, I believe you have testified you were also a member of an organization known as American Friends of German Freedom.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Major ALLEN. Is there any connection between that organization and the organization known as Friends of New Germany?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe not. In my answers to the Federal Bureau of Investigation I said I thought Friends of New Germany was the name of the organization to which I belonged, Friends of German Freedom. Friends of German Freedom circulates reports from inside Germany, and analyzes German propaganda, and publishes an excellent bibliography on books about Germany at the present time. It is absolutely beyond any possible suspicion, Mr. Chairman.

Major ALLEN. Where is the headquarters of that organization, Friends of German Freedom?

Mr. LOVETT. In New York, I think, at 112 West Nineteenth Street.

Major ALLEN. Do you know anything about the aims and purposes of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. It is to furnish information to those who are interested in the overthrow of the present regime in Germany by those Germans who may still desire freedom.

Major ALLEN. Did you serve as a sponsor of the organization known as American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Major ALLEN. What office, if any, did you hold in that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. The office of vice president.

Major ALLEN. And for how long did you hold that office?

Mr. LOVETT. Between 3 and 4 years.

Major ALLEN. When was your last connection with that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I resigned in 1939.

Representative KEEFE. Let me interpose a question or two right there: Mr. Lovett, the American League Against War and Fascism developed into the American League for Peace and Democracy, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it did just about that time.

Representative KEEFE. That was in 1938, was it not, that the American League for Peace and Democracy was formed?

Mr. LOVETT. It may be the name was changed in 1938.

Representative KEEFE. When you say you resigned from the American League for Peace and Democracy, or, rather, the American League Against War and Fascism, you mean it just folded up and took a new name, do you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir. I did not mean to mislead the committee about that.

Representative KEEFE. But you said you resigned from it.

Mr. LOVETT. I resigned from the American League for Peace and Democracy, to be strictly correct, which was the same organization as the American League Against War and Fascism under a different name.

Representative KEEFE. When did the American League Against War and Fascism cease to exist, if you recall?

Mr. LOVETT. Under its new name—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). I am not speaking of the new name, but asking you when the American League Against War and Fascism ceased to exist.

Mr. LOVETT. It changed its name in 1938, but the exact date I cannot recall.

Representative KEEFE. You were vice president of the organization known as American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And when it changed its name to American League for Peace and Democracy you became vice president of the latter organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; I acquiesced in the change of name.

Representative KEEFE. For all substantial purposes it was one and the same organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Precisely.

Representative KEEFE. Sponsored by the same people?

Mr. LOVETT. Exactly.

Representative KEEFE. And advocating the same program?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. The same, except for change of name.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Why did you change its name?

Mr. LOVETT. Because the original name had an entirely negative connotation, and it was thought that the League could do better work if it announced itself as a positive force rather than as a force of protest.

Representative KEEFE. The American League for Peace and Democracy continued to function under the presidency of Dr. Ward?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And with you as vice president?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. Until the Dies committee exploded it as a communist organization, and then it folded up.

Mr. LOVETT. I resigned.

Representative KEEFE. Your interest in it ceased when it folded up, is not that true?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I resigned in the spring of 1939 and it folded up some time later. With the precise circumstances of it concluding its existence I am not familiar.

Representative KEEFE. Where were you when you say you resigned?

Mr. LOVETT. I was in the United States, about to go to the Virgin Islands.

Representative KEEFE. You resigned preparatory to taking your job in the Virgin Islands?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I resigned because I would be out of connection with organizations in the United States, and I did not wish to be responsible for the policies of organizations with which I was not in connection.

Representative KEEFE. So that I may understand the situation and there may be no misunderstanding on the part of anybody about it: You were appointed as Governor of the Virgin Islands—

Mr. LOVETT (interposing). As Government Secretary.

Representative KEEFE. You were appointed Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands in 1939, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. In 1939.

Representative KEEFE. And preparatory to going to take your post in the Virgin Islands you severed your connection with the American League for Peace and Democracy because you did not want to retain membership in the organization, and continue sponsorship of the organization, when you would not be present to help direct its policies; is that it?

Mr. LOVETT. Precisely.

Representative KEEFE. For that reason and for no other reason, is that correct?

Mr. LOVETT. For no other reason.

Representative KEEFE. But you still adhered to the philosophy and the pronouncements of the American League for Peace and Democracy as they were issued up to the time you left the mainland of the United States to go to the Virgin Islands?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. But may I—

Representative KEEFE (continuing). Do you still retain those same ideas?

Mr. LOVETT. I do. May I say that—

Representative KEEFE (continuing). You never at any time repudiated the philosophy or program of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LOVETT. Never. But may I explain that the program of the League for Peace and Democracy was collective security in foreign affairs.

Representative KEEFE. Is that program in writing?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Then it speaks for itself.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. I think we have that in our record at some place.

Mr. LOVETT. All right.

Representative KEEFE. I know that is in existence. Mr. Lovett, you have a written program or pronouncement as to its policy, have you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Oh, yes. Many statements were made by the league.

Representative KEEFE. You knew many well-known Communists who were members of it?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. In fact, the most of them were Communists?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir; I do not think so. I think on the executive board there were one or two Communists. But this was an organization of organizations, not so much of individual members.

Representative KEEFE. What other organizations were members of this organization?

Mr. LOVETT. The Communist Party was a member as an organization.

Representative KEEFE. The Communist Party was a member as an organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. It was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LOVETT. It was.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know of any other organizations that were members of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not like to trust my memory on that matter.

Representative KEEFE. Was the Young Communist League a part of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not sure. I cannot recall the list of organizations that were constituent members of the League Against War and Fascism.

Representative KEEFE. But you do recall that the Communist Party in the United States was a member?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And that is the only one that you do recall?

Mr. LOVETT. At the moment.

Representative POWERS. But I understand that you were a member of the organization at the time the Communist Party had membership in it.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir. The League for Industrial Democracy was a member and withdrew. I was president of the League for Industrial Democracy, and I disapproved of their withdrawal for the reasons given, and so I continued my individual association with the League Against War and Fascism.

Representative KEEFE. What was the reason for their withdrawal?

Mr. LOVETT. They felt that the meeting in Madison Square Garden in honor of the Socialist workers who were killed in the Dollfuss suppression of the Socialists there, was interrupted and broken up by individual Communists. They were, naturally, very much agitated and withdrew from the League Against War and Fascism because they did not wish to be associated with the Communist Party.

Representative KEEFE. As a matter of fact, the American League Against War and Fascism was well known to Socialists in this country as being a Communist organization.

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir. There were Communists who were members, but Communists never controlled that organization.

Representative KEEFE. Please repeat the name of the organization you just mentioned.

Mr. LOVETT. The League for Industrial Democracy.

Representative KEEFE. That was a Socialist organization; was it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Many Socialists belonged to it. Its orientation was generally socialistic, but it was not officially a Socialist organization.

Representative KEEFE. When they had this meeting in Madison Square Garden that you referred to, it was called by whom?

Mr. LOVETT. Called by the Socialist Party, I believe.

Representative KEEFE. That meeting was called by the Socialist Party?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it was.

Representative KEEFE. What was the protest about?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it was called by the Socialist Party, or known as a Socialist meeting in honor of their comrades who had died in the purge in Vienna.

Representative KEEFE. Why did it withdraw from the organization known as American League Against War and Fascism, arising out of that meeting? What was the reason for their withdrawal?

Mr. LOVETT. Their withdrawal was the result of the bitterness felt against Communists whom they held responsible for breaking up the meeting in Madison Square Garden.

Representative KEEFE. Was the meeting in fact broken up?

Mr. LOVETT. It was.

Representative KEEFE. Or was it just an attempt to break up the meeting?

Mr. LOVETT. It was broken up.

Representative KEEFE. Those Socialists decided they would withdraw from the American League Against War and Fascism because they claimed the Communists were responsible for breaking up the protest meeting held in New York City?

Mr. LOVETT. They held that view.

Representative KEEFE. But you, as vice president of the organization, decided that they were taking the wrong attitude?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. You did not agree with their withdrawal from the organization known as the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right. I thought they were withdrawing on an issue that was irrelevant to the main purpose of the League Against War and Fascism.

Representative KEEFE. Then they must have had in their minds the idea that the American League Against War and Fascism was pretty well controlled by Communists if they withdrew from it for that reason.

Mr. LOVETT. I do not think they held that view. I think they viewed the league as a united front organization, so-called, in which Communists had their place as well as others.

Representative KEEFE. They did not want to have anything to do with Communists?

Mr. LOVETT. At that moment I think not.

Representative KEEFE. Well, at this moment they do not want to have anything to do with them, the Socialists, do they?

Mr. LOVETT. So far as I know, they maintain the same attitude.

Representative KEEFE. Very well. That is all for the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lovett, while you were a member of either one of these organizations—and I believe you said it began as the American League Against War and Fascism, and that you became a member at that time, and that you also continued as a member when it changed its name to American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this organization have a constitution?

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Did the organization have a constitution?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And bylaws?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you familiar with its constitution and bylaws?

Mr. LOVETT. I was at the time. My memory probably would not serve me to repeat them now.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you instrumental in drawing the constitution and bylaws and adopting them, or either one?

Mr. LOVETT. As time went on, yes; changes were made. The organization existed with a constitution and bylaws when I became its vice president, and I accepted that situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what was in either the constitution or bylaws.

Mr. LOVETT. I prefer not to trust my memory on that. I could give you in general what the policy of the league was. It was to—

The CHAIRMAN [interposing]. I want to know something about the organization that you belonged to, what sort of bylaws it had, if it had

any, and what was its constitution; what it endeavored to do, what it intended to do, and what, if anything, it did accomplish.

Mr. LOVETT. It intended to support the idea of peace through collective security, quarantining the aggressors. It supported the labor policy of the present administration. Those were the two chief interests of the organization, the labor policy and the foreign policy of the present administration.

Representative POWERS. Mr. Lovett, would this refresh your memory: Is it not true that that organization was opposed to the capitalistic system in the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. Only insofar as the capitalistic system resulted in the oppression of workers.

Representative POWERS. But they were opposed to the capitalistic system?

Mr. LOVETT. Only insofar as the capitalistic system bore heavily upon workers, making them bear as it appeared to us an undue share of the burdens.

Representative POWERS. What did they advocate so far as the capitalistic system was concerned?

Mr. LOVETT. The organization was in favor of peace and democracy, and it took no attitude on the fundamental question of collectivism or socialism or communism.

Representative POWERS. But leaning very definitely in the direction of socialism and communism?

Mr. LOVETT. That was a matter for the individuals. The Communists leaned strongly in favor of a collectivist society.

Representative POWERS. You certainly had some strange bedfellows there.

Mr. LOVETT. I admit the case.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Tarry F. Ward was the president of this organization; was he not?

Mr. LOVETT. He was.

Representative KEEFE. In this memorandum which I have before me from the Department of Justice appears this statement—and there is a full description of the organization, known as American League Against War and Fascism, and American League for Peace and Democracy. Dr. Harry F. Ward, writing in *Soviet Russia Today*, declared the purpose of the American League to be as follows:

To promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack upon the Soviet Union.

Did you understand that to be one of the purposes of the organization?

Mr. LOVETT. The policy of the American League—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). Did you understand that to be one of the policies of the organization? You can certainly answer that question "yes" or "no."

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. All right. You have answered it. In the November 30, 1936, issue of the *Communist*, William Z. Foster informed the Communist Party that it was likewise a vital factor in

the League Against War and Fascism, which held its third conference in Cleveland in January of 1936. Do you remember that conference?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Were you there?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And Foster was there?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not think so. In fact, I am sure he was not.

Representative KEEFE. Let me call this to your attention: In a pamphlet entitled "Youth Against War and Fascism," published by the American League Against War and Fascism, this pledge is stated:

We pledge ourselves to work for the stoppage of all munitions production in American factories, and the shipment of war materials to be used against the various colonial peoples. We shall especially try to extend our antiwar forces into munitions factories and organize workers there in war youth committees. All forms of strike actions shall be used to stop the production and shipment of war munitions.

That was set out as one of the fundamental objectives of this American League Against War and Fascism. Do you understand that now to have been the objective?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not agree with it.

Representative KEEFE. Did they issue such a pamphlet as Youth Against War and Fascism?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You were a vice president of the organization at the time, and in that pamphlet they gave expression to the views I have just quoted.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. But I would say that I ought not to be held responsible for every utterance of every organization with which I have agreed in general policy.

Representative KEEFE. Professor Lovett, that pamphlet was issued and published by the league, of which you were an officer, to wit, vice president, was it not?

Mr. LOVETT. It was.

Representative KEEFE. And that pamphlet was circulated throughout this country. Did you ever denounce it?

Mr. LOVETT. Not in public. What was the date? May I request information as to the date of that pamphlet?

Representative KEEFE. The report which I have before me does not give the date. Maybe I will be able to find the pamphlet itself.

Representative POWERS. You are reading from the F. B. I. report, I take it?

Representative KEEFE. This is a memorandum from the Department of Justice that I am reading from, yes, in connection with this very organization. These are the findings of the Department of Justice with respect to this organization.

Representative POWERS. Thank you.

Representative KEEFE. The Department of Justice reports, and I quote:

A series of congresses were then held, and during the fourth congress, held in November 1937, the official title of the organization was changed to Amer-

lean League For Peace and Democracy. The explanation was given that the cooperation of many peace organizations was not freely given in view of the opinion of many so-called peace organizations that this group was communistically controlled. It was the thought that the title, "American League For Peace and Democracy," would better suit the aims and purposes of the organization. However, it continued to be known in many localities under its former title.

Mr. Lovett, do you subscribe to the fact that as a result of the fourth congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, held in November 1938, the name was changed for the purpose indicated in this report from which I have read?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; and, in general, because it was thought that the league would have more influence under a positive title rather than under a negative title. In the discussions I remember that point was the most important and was emphasized.

Representative KEEFE. How was the league financed?

Mr. LOVETT. By contributions from organizations that were either members or interested.

Representative KEEFE. Did they receive a contribution from Corliss Lamont?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not familiar with the treasurer's report. It is very possible. It received contributions from members, as well as from organizations.

Representative KEEFE. Do you not know it to be a fact that the Communist Party, through Mr. Earl Browder, constantly furnished money to this organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; I know that.

Representative KEEFE. You know that to be a fact?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And that meetings were held and money-raising banquets were held that were addressed by well-known Communists throughout the country for the purpose of raising money to carry on this work?

Mr. LOVETT. By Communists and others.

Representative KEEFE. But principally by Communists at Communist meetings?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not think principally Communists. The effort of the league was not to emphasize the Communist element. It was very distinctly understood that Communists were not in control of the league and they were never allowed to control the league.

Representative KEEFE. This organization of which you were vice president assisted in the organization and promotion of the American Student Union, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And also assisted in the organization and promotion of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not perfectly certain. In general, yes. The youth movement was one of those in which the American League was interested.

Representative KEEFE. The American Student Union and the American Youth Congress were both Communist-front organizations,

were they not? They were dominated and controlled by the Communist Party of the United States, were they not?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir; not in their inception. The American Student Union was organized as the result of the coming together of the young people of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Young Communists' League. And in its early days, when I was on the advisory committee, Communists were not in control. It was a united front organization, but I deny that it was at that time a Communist-front organization.

Representative GORE. Mr. Lovett, how does it happen that you belonged to so many organizations that were so closely affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVETT. The organizations that I have belonged to might be classified roughly as organizations for peace, for civil liberties, and for, as I have stated, an improvement of the social order. Communists are interested in those objectives, and I have never felt that Communists were to be excluded from organizations which sought those objectives.

Representative GORE. Did you ever feel that you were lending yourself to Communist objectives?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative GORE. Did you ever feel any compunction of American conscience to being so closely associated with people and officials of a party who advocate the overthrow and destruction of the American system?

Mr. LOVETT. The Communist Party has never to my knowledge advocated the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence.

Representative KEEFE. Do you say the Communist Party has never advocated any such thing?

Mr. LOVETT. They deny that they have, and to my knowledge they never so advocated.

Representative GORE. Let me put my question in a different way: Did you ever feel any compunction of conscience at being associated with members of a party and officials of a party that had openly advocated the destruction of the American system of free enterprise, private ownership of property, and the capitalistic system in general?

Mr. LOVETT. My attitude on that question is that I believe the abuses of the capitalistic system should be controlled. I believe that we should emphasize production for use rather than production for profit. I do not believe that we can eliminate the profit system; and I do not believe that we can get along without the aid of the system that we have built up, capitalism. But I am in favor of discussion and agitation, as I say, along the line of emphasizing social rather than individual forces in society and in our production. Communists advocating the same thing have been members of many organizations in which I have taken part. I have never felt that I was being used by Communists to build up their own party.

Representative GORE. Did you ever feel that you were, in turn, using Communists for the attainment of your own objectives?

Mr. LOVETT. No. The objectives I have just stated are common to Socialists, Communists, Liberals, and many other persons, and I do not feel that when persons who are interested in the same objects get together in an organization, that one is using the other.

Representative GORE. What is the differentiation between your objectives as you interpret them and define them and Communists' objectives as you interpret and define them?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not able to speak officially or authoritatively for the Communist Party. The purposes that I have had, and which are represented by the League for Industrial Democracy, with which I have been associated for 20 years, are, as I have said, emphasizing social objectives in economy, in production, in consumption, and playing down the profit system or profit motive.

jectives? I nother words, did you

Representative GORE. Did you take unto your own bosom those objectives? In other words, did you endorse those objectives?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative GORE. What do you mean by "social objectives in production and consumption"?

Mr. LOVETT. I mean that just as in the present crisis the Government of the United States has been obliged to do just that, to emphasize social control in production and consumption. I believe that such measures are necessary to control human greed, not only in wartime but in peacetime.

Representative GORE. How far would you have the control go?

Mr. LOVETT. About as far as the O. P. A. goes at the present time. I am in no sense a collectivist, but my doctrine of collectivism does not go much beyond the program of the O. P. A. at the present day.

Representative GORE. You would advocate regimentation and governmental controls in peacetime to the extent it has been found to be necessary in wartime; is that it?

Mr. LOVETT. Not precisely to the extent, but in principle I think the objectives could be the same.

Representative GORE. In principle?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I mean in general, in order to control, as I say again, human greed, which is of course the motive of the profit system. I believe that a very considerable measure of government control is necessary.

Representative KEEFE. Mr. Lovett, did I understand you to say that human greed is the motive of the profit system?

Mr. LOVETT. One of the motives. Very largely it is an individual desire for possession. If I said "human greed" that is a crude expression. I should say, perhaps, individual desire for possession. I will change that answer accordingly.

Representative GORE. Would you destroy individual desire for possession?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir. I believe we have to have the profit motive, have to have individual enterprise in order to forward the progress of society. But I believe that these motives may be increasingly limited by the necessities of social organization, a better social order, in other words.

Representative GORE. Do you believe that individual desire for ownership should be increasingly limited?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; limited.

Representative GORE. How far would you limit it?

Mr. LOVETT. So far as is advisable in the interests of the general good. But the general good includes the exercise of individual initiative and individual ingenuity. It is a matter to be worked at, it seems to me, through our gradual evolution of democratic doctrine and system.

Representative GORE. Do you believe that that can be done gradually?

Mr. LOVETT. It is being done gradually, sir. It is coming about gradually.

Representative GORE. Let us get at it by way of citing some specific cases. Do you believe that the production of the essentials of life, such as food, should be under government control, ahead of and over and above the operation of individual desire for possession?

Mr. LOVETT. Well, that is done at the present time. The Government has large control over agricultural production. The whole system of social control was introduced in pretty crude form by what was known as the N. R. A. or the N. I. R. A., was very much to that end. We have learned a great deal since N. R. A. was constituted. But I merely would make the point that the movement is in that direction.

Representative GORE. Would you believe in collective farms?

Mr. LOVETT. Only insofar as they may be necessary to supply the people with food. If individual ownership of farms does not supply our people with food, I believe that collectivism will have to be instituted.

Representative GORE. Suppose that individual ownership of farms did supply the necessary food for the people, but that in doing so the individual owners reaped a greedy profit at the expense of the many, what would then be your position?

Mr. LOVETT. I should establish controls to limit the profit. We know, for example, that inordinate profits have been made in marketing at the expense of both producer and consumer. I believe in control of markets for the purpose of limiting the reward to the service rendered.

Representative GORE. How would you apply your collectivist theory of production for use to the production of food? You said a while ago you would advocate and would urge predominance of the social order, or production for use rather than production for profit, and now you come back and it seems to me when we get down to specific cases you contradict yourself.

Mr. LOVETT. I beg pardon. I do not understand how I have contradicted myself. I believe there should be social control, government control, wherever necessary to accomplish the major end. The major end in production of food, according to my view, is not the prosperity of the individual farmer but the providing of food for the people, the getting of an adequate supply of food.

Representative GORE. In general you believe in production for use?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative GORE. Rather than production for profit?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe the emphasis should be on use rather than on profit. I might say, perhaps, that recently in my dealings with

merchants in the Virgin Islands, I have had to point out to them that they are licensed to carry on business for the primary purpose of serving the community, and that their profit is a secondary matter; that if they cannot supply food at a profit it is up to them to carry on and render a social service even without profit.

Representative POWERS. Or, perhaps, at a loss.

Representative GORE. Do you mean even at a loss?

Mr. LOVETT. That the Government itself would have to take care of any loss that they experienced. But the profit might be whittled down to almost nothing, and yet they could continue on in business. Some merchants proposed to close up, to close their shops, but I said that was not possible, that they have to go on doing business or else their licenses would be revoked.

Representative POWERS. Even though they might have to do business at a loss?

Mr. LOVETT. No. We have made arrangements so that they should not suffer an absolute loss.

Representative GORE. Then if I understand you aright you would have the Government require that a man stay in business, if he be a merchant as you have cited an instance, even though he operate at a loss; but you would have the Government, in the act of requiring him to continue his business as a merchant, make him whole, is that it?

Mr. LOVETT. Under the system, in fulfilling his social purpose, yes; make him whole.

Representative GORE. I believe that is all I wish to ask.

Mr. LOVETT. That is done all the time, constantly.

Representative POWERS. By the same taken if your salary were cut from \$5,800 to \$1,000 a year, as Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands, would you still be on your job, discharging your duties as a social service?

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly.

Representative POWERS. Suppose your salary were cut to \$500 a year or to nothing.

Mr. LOVETT. I would certainly remain as Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands if I felt I was doing a good job in the islands.

Representative POWERS. How would you exist if you had no other means?

Mr. LOVETT. It happens that I receive a pension as a result of 45 years' teaching in Chicago.

Representative POWERS. But let us suppose you had no other means of support.

Mr. LOVETT. In that case I would have to go to work to support my family. Undoubtedly I could not continue in that case.

Representative POWERS. What would those merchants in the Virgin Islands do if they were constantly taking a loss?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not say they should take a loss. I am merely trying to emphasize the fact that their first obligation, that the first obligation of the producer, is to society, and that so long as a man is fulfilling that function, that is his own reward. That is necessary in a well-ordered society, certainly. It would only be at a time of crisis and for a short period that he might be subjected to a loss, and society will

readjust that situation. But I believe emphasis should be placed upon the social duty of every individual in whatever capacity he may be serving society.

Representative POWERS. Mr. Lovett, you spoke of a pension you receive from the University of Chicago. If that theory of yours had been put in effect years ago in this America we all love, we would not have the America that we have today. Had such a thing as you suggest been done years ago, where would the money come from to pay your pension?

Mr. LOVETT. It would not come. My pension, of course, is the result of the profit system of the past, which enabled certain individuals to amass large fortunes from which they gave to the University of Chicago and other organizations.

Representative POWERS. At that time the profit system was not too bad.

Mr. LOVETT. I wish again to explain that I am not against the profit system as such. I am only in favor of emphasizing the other principle as primary to the profit system. I admit that our progress in civilization, historically speaking, has been due to the profit system. No one will deny that.

Representative POWERS. If there were no profit system in this country there would not have been the University of Chicago, Princeton University, Harvard University, Yale University. These great universities have grown and been strengthened by reason of the profit system.

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Representative GORE. Mr. Lovett, if a farmer could not produce food at a profit would you require him to continue such production and subsidize him as a social function, just as you say you advised the merchants in the Virgin Islands they must do?

Mr. LOVETT. We are doing exactly that in St. Thomas. We are feeding people there at Government expense, because the council of the city of St. Thomas has set aside municipal funds to pay for labor for the farmers.

Representative GORE. Then you have the unique experience of putting into practice now some of the ideas that you have been preaching?

Mr. LOVETT. The whole country is putting it into practice as a part of our war effort.

Representative GORE. You say, however, that you advocate a similar system of controls in peacetimes?

Mr. LOVETT. I might object to the word "similar" if it means exactly the same system; but I believe we are moving in the direction of establishing greater social control over the forces of production. We were doing it before the war, and I believe we shall continue to do it after the war.

Representative GORE. Mr. Lovett, wherein lies the field of human liberty if I, as a farmer, may be required to stay on my farm and produce, whether it is remunerative or not, or if I, as a merchant or businessman, or whatever my occupation might be, am required, even though I receive no profit therefrom, to continue to slave and labor

and work and be told what profit I shall make; be told, indeed, that the Government will pay me my profit—that really would not be a profit in that instance—wherein lies the field of human liberty?

Mr. LOVETT. That is a matter of adjustment which must come about through statesmanship. I agree with you that the definition of the field of human liberty in a world which is necessarily increasing social control, is a very difficult thing to define. Have you read the Beveridge Plan, might I ask—Sir William Beveridge's plan, and Mr. Roosevelt's American Beveridge Plan that has been issued? I simply refer to that as a sign of the times, of the way in which statesmanship is taking up this exceedingly difficult problem of defining, as you say, the field of human liberty in a world increasingly and necessarily subject to social control.

Representative POWERS. And getting rid of profits at the same time.

Mr. LOVETT. The profit system has played a great part in civilization, and it will continue to do so. It is only a question of limiting it where it may result in exploitations of individuals or society.

I am sorry, gentlemen, to be talking like a professor here.

Representative POWERS. You are not talking like a professor.

Mr. LOVETT. I am afraid I am. I am not an economist.

Representative GORE. You seem to be talking as a practitioner.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very much interested in your statement that you believe in the control of capitalism. Assuming that it could be controlled, what move, in your opinion, would you resort to in order to control it?

Mr. LOVETT. If I understand the question, I would say by legislation, by appropriate legislation to define just what your colleague has referred to as the field of human liberty in a social world. I am not competent to draw the bills which such legislation would imply; but I believe they can be drawn.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you conceive of any other way of controlling capitalism? Do you have any other idea about how to do it? You say you think that the legislature ought to control capitalism. But assuming that it cannot do so, have you any other idea about how it may be done?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it can. I think that legislation is the proper method by which democracy grows, by which democracy defines its objectives and accomplishes those things.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there ever come a time when the people themselves would have to rise up and remedy the difficulty?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I believe that our governmental system implies the working of popular forces through legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. And stopping there?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I can see no way in which our American system can function except through legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not say that such a philosophy was communistic?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the same viewpoint on the Communist attitude that most of us have.

Mr. LOVETT. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That in order to bring about this destruction of capitalism the Government itself ought to be overthrown if necessary? That is what the Communists think about it.

Mr. LOVETT. They believe, as far as I understand it, that the action of the people should be direct, not through a legislative body, but perhaps through a dictatorship or through some form of direct action. And I do not agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN. If it were done in this country through a dictatorship, it would be to overthrow our Government, would it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative POWERS. Mr. Lovett, were you ever arrested?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative POWERS. How many times?

Mr. LOVETT. Once.

Representative POWERS. Tell the committee about that, won't you?

Mr. LOVETT. There was a strike at a so-called apron factory in Chicago. There were colored girls who were paid a terribly low rate of wages, and it was reported that the police were acting with unnecessary violence against the pickets, and a number of social workers proposed to go to the scene of the strike on a Monday morning, perhaps, and I was asked if I would go, and I did.

Representative POWERS. By whom? Who asked you?

Mr. LOVETT. The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago. These girls were young girls, and the secretary of the Juvenile Protective Association, who was a resident of Hull House, as I was, asked me if I would go there, and I did.

Representative POWERS. Was that secretary a fellow traveler, so-called, or a Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. No; certainly not. The police broke up the formation of the pickets, which I believed they had strictly no right to do, and told everybody to clear off the block; whereupon we withdrew to another corner, perhaps six or seven of us, most of them ladies, I think, and then the police charged us, waving their batons.

Representative POWERS. For what reason did they charge you?

Mr. LOVETT. I think, ignorance. A spirit of aggressiveness infects young policemen. Of course there was nothing for me to do but to step out and accost the leader of this charge and say, "I wish to speak to your superior officer." He said, "You can speak to him in the wagon." And he escorted me to the wagon, and I went to jail early in the morning.

Representative POWERS. May I interrupt you right there? What did you and your group do to provoke this charge of the police?

Mr. LOVETT. We did nothing. We were there to watch proceedings, when we were ordered off the block, and we went off the block.

Representative POWERS. You did nothing, and the police charged you?

Mr. LOVETT. Nothing.

Representative POWERS. Go on, if you will, please.

Mr. LOVETT. I was put in a cell and locked up for a while and then, much to the amusement, I may say, of the papers, the Juvenile Protective Association bailed me out for \$25. That the Juvenile Protective Association should bail what the papers described as an elderly

professor was the cause of some pleasant humorous comment. I was brought to trial.

Representative POWERS. What was the charge?

Mr. LOVETT. The charge was unlawful assembly.

Representative POWERS. No riot charge or anything like that?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I was defended by Mr. Chandler who is now connected with the Department of the Courts in Washington. He has written me an excellent statement covering the whole matter. The judge dismissed the case. We waived a jury trial. The judge dismissed the case and rebuked the State's attorney. When the State's attorney said he proposed to change the charge from unlawful assembly to disorderly conduct, the judge remarked that he should consider that the State's attorney himself was guilty of disorderly conduct. He did so. The affair was of course very unfortunate, but there was nothing in any way that reflected upon me personally or upon the other persons who were present at that time.

Representative POWERS. You say you did not request a jury trial?

Mr. LOVETT. No. We left it to the judge.

Representative POWERS. I am going to read an extract here, which is in rather fine print, in reference to this charge, from the Journal of the Illinois State Senate of June 26, 1935, which states that you were arrested with picketers at a strike of the Needle Trade Workers Independent Union, June 29, 1933. It refers to the executive committee, National Council, Protection for Foreign Born Workers, 1927-30; American Committee for A. S. W.

Do you know what those letters stand for?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative POWERS. The American Committee for A. S. W. On July 26, 1933, the Advisory Association Bulletin said:

When Comrade Lovett was up for trial he used the old communistic tactics of demanding a jury trial. We have checked up on the trial and found some peculiar circumstances. He was tried in the jury court, but there was no jury trial. Judge Gulknecht turned both Lovett and McKenna loose and cautioned the State's attorney not to bring further charges against him for inciting to riot.

That is from the Journal of the Illinois State Senate. That does not square up with the testimony that you gave, does it, Professor Lovett?

Mr. LOVETT. I think so.

Representative POWERS. If I recall correctly, you said you did not ask for a jury trial.

Mr. LOVETT. I asked for a jury trial immediately on being arrested; and the judge who was sitting in the police station I felt would probably dismiss the case with a fine. I then asked for a jury trial and expected to have a trial by jury; but after Mr. Chandler had reviewed the case and talked with the witnesses he decided that it was unnecessary, and we therefore left it to the judge.

Representative POWERS. This American Committee for A. S. W., July 26, 1933, Advisory Association Bulletin, refers to you as Comrade Lovett. How do you account for that?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not responsible for a term which they applied to me. I certainly have never done anything to deserve the appellation of "Comrade" in the Communist sense.

Representative POWERS. What was this Advisory Association Bulletin; do you know?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not know.

Representative POWERS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you said awhile ago while Mr. Gore of Tennessee was asking you some questions, that you advocated law and order?

Mr. LOVETT. Absolutely, sir; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why could you not have allowed the policemen to go down there rather than to take the law into your own hands and go down there also? The police are an arm of the law and are under the direction of the law, and they went down there to look after those strikers.

Mr. LOVETT. I did not take the law into my own hands. I merely exercised the right of every citizen to investigate, to see if the law-enforcing agency was exceeding its proper powers.

The CHAIRMAN. You went down there to judge the action of the bona fide officers of the city to see whether or not they were doing their duty. Is that what you were doing down there?

Mr. LOVETT. I have known policemen to beat up—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wait a minute. Would you say that that was what you were doing? Answer that question, and then you can make any explanation of it that you wish.

Mr. LOVETT. I went down to see if the workers were being deprived of their legal rights to picket and were being beaten up by police in the course of their effort to exercise those rights. I went as an observer.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not willing, then, to leave it to the process of the law and the agents of the law to take care of a situation of that kind in this country?

Mr. LOVETT. I am certainly willing to leave everything to the process of the law. I was merely invoking the process of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you leave it to the legal officers to take care of a situation of that kind rather than to go down and get into a riot yourself about it?

Mr. LOVETT. I might explain that the group of people with whom I went were interested in seeing justice done to a group of exploited girls, workers, and I went with them at their invitation to see if their charges of such treatment as they made were true.

The CHAIRMAN. And got into trouble yourself?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I am sorry. I seem to have been a scandal to the community by being arrested; but I am perfectly willing to have the case examined in detail. The record is there. The statement of my attorney is there. He is a prominent lawyer in Washington, at the head of the Courts Department of the Department of Justice. He would be glad to testify in my favor, of course.

Representative KEEFE. I would like to ask a few more questions about this.

Representative POWERS. Before you start I have just one other thing to go into.

Representative KEEFE. Very well.

Representative POWERS. I have here before me a quotation from the Journal of the Illinois State Senate, and after I read it you may state

whether or not it refreshes your recollection, and I will ask you to tell us something about it [reading]:

His personal attitude and testimony before the committee were unsatisfactory. He frequently participated in Communist meetings in Illinois and other States.

Fair consideration of all evidence received by the committee compels the conclusion that Prof. Robert Morris Lovett has pursued an unpatriotic course of conduct for a period of 8 or 10 years. From the testimony and exhibits considered by the committee he is not loyal to the spirit or the letter of the constitution of Illinois or of the United States. However, Professor Lovett lost a son in the World War.

Have you any comment to make on that Illinois State Senate Journal quotation?

Mr. LOVETT. A committee was appointed by the Senate of the State of Illinois to investigate communistic teaching in universities and colleges of the State, and they met in Chicago, and the University of Chicago was the only institution examined. I was a professor of English literature, and I could not possibly introduce communistic teaching into my classroom, or the teaching of any other "ism" or creed. My business was strictly that of a teacher of English literature, the history of English literature, and the works of English writers. I have never deviated from that practice. I did not go to the meetings of the committee because I did not feel that I was in any way concerned. I understand that frequent questions were asked from the floor in the committee and remarks were made bringing my name before the committee. The committee did not ask me to appear, but the president of the University of Chicago, at the second session, called me up and said, "Your name has frequently been mentioned. Do you object to appearing?" I said, "Why, certainly not." And I appeared.

The subject of communistic teaching in my classroom or in any other classroom was not mentioned, to my knowledge, and instead the committee brought up this matter of my unfortunate arrest in performing what I thought to be a citizen's duty, and they brought up other matters which I thought entirely irrelevant, and, naturally, I did not wish to be drawn into irrelevant discussions and defense of matters that were not strictly, as I thought, before the committee.

The committee's remark about my attitude being unsatisfactory is perhaps justified from their point of view. I did not wish to be drawn into controversy or into a defense of matters which were not, as I conceived, relevant.

Representative POWERS. If they were examining your fitness to be a professor at the University of Chicago I cannot imagine how these matters you mention could have been irrelevant.

Mr. LOVETT. They were examining the matter of communism. If the committee had shown that I taught communism in my classes they would have shown that I was unfit to be a professor of the University of Chicago; and if they had shown that I used my platform as a professor to advocate socialism, republicanism, democracy, or any other form of government the result would have been the same.

Representative POWERS. They were examining as to your connections with organizations you belonged to and speeches you had made under the auspices of various organizations. They were questioning you about that, which you say you thought was irrelevant?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative POWERS. Probably they wanted to find out from your connections whether you were a fit person to hold the chair of English literature which you were holding at the time.

Mr. LOVETT. I absolutely deny their competence to make any such decision except on the strict letter of their commission; and I may say that the trustees of the University of Chicago disagreed with the report of the Illinois Senate committee.

Representative POWERS. Does the University of Chicago receive State money from the State of Illinois?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative KEEFE. Dr. Lovett, you made contributions of money to this work of the American League Against War and Fascism, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I did; yes.

Representative KEEFE. Frequently?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I think not. I am not in position to make large or frequent contributions to anything.

Representative KEEFE. You made contributions of \$100 frequently, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. No; not as much as that.

Representative KEEFE. Never as much as a hundred dollars?

Mr. LOVETT. I should think not; no.

Representative KEEFE. I have before me a report of the receipts and disbursements of the League Against War and Fascism from Sept. 1 to Oct. 31, 1936, in which it recites a special donation of Robert Morss Lovett. That is you, is it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And it states \$100.

Mr. LOVETT. I am surprised, but it is undoubtedly there. The League Against War and Fascism was, with me, a major interest. I believed that its policy was correct and I believed that it was an instrument for good in international and national social affairs. But if I was able to give \$100 at that time I am a little surprised now that I was able to or that I was so generous.

Representative KEEFE. And you still believe it was a fine organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I still believe it was a fine organization.

Representative KEEFE. You still believe that?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; I do. I have never been ashamed of it.

Representative KEEFE. And you still believe that the American League for Peace and Democracy is a fine organization? You still believe that its principles were proper?

Mr. LOVETT. It was so long as I was connected with it.

Representative KEEFE. Up to 1939?

Mr. LOVETT. Up to the time when I resigned. While I disagreed with certain of the things that were done and may not be held responsible, I submit, for every utterance that was made in the name of the league, nevertheless on general principles and in the matter of general objectives I agreed.

Representative KEEFE. But you never publicly renounced or denounced any of the principles issued by either league, the League Against War and Fascism or the League for Peace and Democracy, did you?

Mr. LOVETT. I could not denounce it publicly. I did, however, in meetings of the executive committee and in conferences with the various officials of the organization, protest against certain radical utterances that I thought were damaging.

Representative KEEFE. What radical utterance?

Mr. LOVETT. Such as you read a moment ago in regard to the attitude of youth.

Representative KEEFE. Were there any others?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall any others. I know there were many occasions on which I did protest against what I considered ill-advised radical utterances and proceedings.

Representative KEEFE. Did you ever know Mother Bloor?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Who was she?

Mr. LOVETT. A farmer's wife from Iowa who has worked among farmers and farmers' wives.

Representative KEEFE. Is she a Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe so, but I cannot say certainly.

Representative KEEFE. You do know her, don't you—a well-recognized Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe so; yes.

Representative KEEFE. She has been feted by the Communist Party as one of their great, illustrious members, has she not?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe she has.

Representative KEEFE. And they had a great celebration of her work on her seventy-fifth birthday, did they not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And issued a souvenir bulletin in honor of Mother Bloor's seventy-fifth birthday?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You were one of the subscribers to that?

Mr. LOVETT. I was.

Representative KEEFE. And helped pay for it?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't think I did. I think I wrote a complimentary reference to Mother Bloor which was published.

Representative KEEFE. And you knew at that time that she was one of the outstanding militant Communists in this country, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I assumed and believed that she was a Communist; yes.

Representative KEEFE. And she was a militant Communist, too, was she not?

Mr. LOVETT. That I cannot say. I am not familiar with the inside of the Communist organization. They might say she was militant or not. That is for them to say.

Representative KEEFE. Do you remember who some of the other sponsors of this Mother Bloor's seventy-fifth birthday were?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not.

Representative KEEFE. Did you ever see the souvenir book that was issued?

Mr. LOVETT. I cannot recall it.

Representative KEEFE. You know that your name appeared as one

Representative KEEFE. You know that your name appeared as one

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly.

Representative KEEFE. The list of sponsors of this book looks almost like a roll call of the leading Communists of the United States. You know that, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't. I don't think I ever saw the book.

Representative KEEFE. Did you ever hear her speak?

Mr. LOVETT. Mother Bloor?

Representative KEEFE. Yes.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; once. I remember once.

Representative KEEFE. When and where?

Mr. LOVETT. I am sorry; I cannot recall definitely. I presume that it was in New York, but on what occasion I can't say.

Representative KEEFE. I think it is only fair to say, Professor Lovett, that as a vice president of the American League Against War and Fascism and as vice president of the American League for Peace and Democracy you participated many, many times in meetings sponsored by those organizations, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Several times, certainly—well, many times.

Representative KEEFE. And you signed as a sponsor many pamphlets and booklets and letters which were issued by those organizations? We have got the whole table covered with them here.

Mr. LOVETT. I was an officer of that organization and took a prominent part in the management.

Representative KEEFE. And in the arrangement of its propaganda and in the distribution of its propaganda and in the organization of meetings and in the organization of its various congresses?

Mr. LOVETT. Those were mostly done by those who were more closely in touch with the chief office, but I could not disclaim responsibility for it. I was a prominent officer of the organization and fully responsible for it.

Representative KEEFE. Do you recall attending one of the congresses at which Earl Browder was the principal speaker?

Mr. LOVETT. I was a member of the executive committee for a time and, I presume he spoke at congresses that you have in mind. I do not recall them at the moment.

Representative KEEFE. Did you cooperate with him?

Mr. LOVETT. He was a member of the committee.

Representative KEEFE. I did not ask you that. I asked, Did you cooperate or collaborate with him in arranging the meetings?

Mr. LOVETT. Except as we were both members of the same executive committee.

Representative KEEFE. And both struggling for the same ends?

Mr. LOVETT. We were; yes—for the same ends as defined by the League Against War and Fascism. I did not mean to be understood as saying that we were working for the same ends as defined by the platform of the Communist Party.

Representative KEEFE. That is right. I understand.

Mr. LOVETT. Thank you.

Representative KEEFE. Let me see what Mr. Browder said. This American League for World Peace and Democracy was international in character, was it not?

Mr. LOVETT. It was at the outset; or at least it grew out of an international organization, but in its American form it was not, I should

say, international, except that it held views on international subjects that were held doubtless by organizations elsewhere.

Representative KEEFE. As a matter of fact, is it not true that the original organization against war and fascism grew out of a meeting that was held in Brussels—

Mr. LOVETT (interposing). Amsterdam, I think.

Representative KEEFE (continuing). At which delegates were present from all over the world—an international organization?

Mr. LOVETT. That is correct.

Representative KEEFE. Sponsored by the Communist International?

Mr. LOVETT. I was not present. I assume that is a fact.

Representative KEEFE. You know it to be a fact, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. I know that the first meeting of the organization was held in Amsterdam; and you are probably entirely correct in stating that.

Representative KEEFE. Did you know J. B. Matthews in those days?

Mr. LOVETT. I knew him from the beginning of the League Against War and Fascism in this country.

Representative KEEFE. He cooperated and worked with you, did he not?

Mr. LOVETT. He was the first chairman.

Representative KEEFE. Yes; and you were vice president?

Mr. LOVETT. Not at that time.

Representative KEEFE. He was the first chairman. Who became the first president?

Mr. LOVETT. When the League Against War and Fascism was reorganized Rev. Harry F. Ward became the chairman, and at that time I became one of the vice presidents. That was some years later than Matthews' connection with it.

Representative KEEFE. Is the Reverend Harry F. Ward a Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. I think not. I don't know. I assume not.

Representative KEEFE. You say, "I don't know; I assume not."

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know or don't you know?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know, but I presume that he is not. I am sure that if he were a Communist he would say so, as I should myself, as any honest man would.

Representative KEEFE. I would think so.

Representative GORE. Would you say he was a fellow traveler?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative POWERS. What is a fellow traveler?

Mr. LOVETT. I suppose the term is applied to persons who are in association with Communists in various organizations and who are therefore thought to be Communists at heart, if I may say so, and who merely avoid the designation of Communist for certain reasons. But if I were a Communist I would say so.

Representative KEEFE. Prior to the organization of the American League Against War and Fascism in this country there was an organization known as the Committee to Defend the Soviet Union, was there not, or Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right,

Representative KEEFE. You were a member of that, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I was; yes—Friends of the Soviet Union.

Representative KEEFE. Were you an officer of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I was not; not that I remember.

Representative KEEFE. That organization functioned prior to the movement of this organization known as the American League against War and Fascism, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. And that organization put out a lot of literature, too, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And held a lot of meetings over the country?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not sure.

Representative KEEFE. Well, let me call your attention to this, which perhaps you will recall—a meeting which was held at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium on Tuesday, March 5, 1935. This document is headed "Call to Action. War Threatens the Soviet Union. Militarist Japan and Fascist Germany Forging Robbers' Ring to Attack. Defend the Soviet Union," and so on and so on. "Come Hear Robert Morss Lovett."

Did you speak at that meeting?

Mr. LOVETT. I presume so. I have always believed—

Representative KEEFE (interposing). No; I didn't ask you what you believed. You will have an opportunity to explain as soon as I finish this question. You did speak at that meeting. Do you recall what you said at that meeting?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not.

Representative KEEFE. Did you speak from a manuscript?

Mr. LOVETT. Never.

Representative KEEFE. You always spoke extemporaneously?

Mr. LOVETT. Not quite extemporaneously, but always from notes.

Representative KEEFE. Always without a manuscript, but from notes. I will put it that way.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And the purpose of this meeting, according to the dodger that I have before me, was to defend the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Representative KEEFE. That is what you had in mind at that time; was it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You felt that the Soviet Union was going to be attacked by the Fascist states in Europe: Germany, Japan, and Italy?

Mr. LOVETT. It seemed probable at that time.

Representative KEEFE. And you had a great affection for the Soviet Union at that time, did you not, and did not want to see it attacked?

Mr. LOVETT. I could hardly say "affection," but a belief that the Soviet Union represented a force in the world which might be very important in working out the future of the human race; yes.

Representative KEEFE. I have before me another call to a national convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union, under date of November 1933, which was published in the magazine of November 1933,

entitled "Soviet Russia Today." Do you remember that one? Your signature appears as one of the endorsers or sponsors of this call. Do you remember that?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; I remember the general nature of it at that time.

Representative KEEFE. Along with Tom Amlie, Frank Borich, Earl Browder, Julian Bryan, Ann Burlak, James W. Ford, William Z. Foster, Ben Gold, Michael Gold, Lem Harris, Clarence Hathaway, Roy Hudson, Langston Hughes, Robert Minor, Scott Nearing, William Patterson, Phillip Raymond, Jack Stachel, and Albert Rhys Williams—every one of whom is an admitted Communist in this country. You know that, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. Most of them.

Representative KEEFE. Most of them that signed this are Communists except yourself, perhaps?

Mr. LOVETT. I would not be sure about Albert Rhys Williams.

Representative KEEFE. In this call for the national convention in 1933 the purpose of it is stated as follows:

For the support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union; for the right of the Soviet masses to build socialism without interference; for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist aggression.

Do you recall those as being the ideals?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. This organization which you belonged to and sponsored and held many meetings and issued lots of pamphlets for throughout the country, taking the part of the Soviet Union—you knew that that was being arranged by Communists at that time; did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. It was being arranged by Friends of the Soviet Union, and my thinking whether they were Communists or not was irrelevant. We were trying to defend the Soviet Union against threatened attack from outside. I was perfectly willing to join Communists in that objective. I should do it today.

Representative POWERS. You were perfectly willing to join the Communists in that objective?

Mr. LOVETT. I was and am. I believe that the existence of the Soviet Union, as proved today, is of enormous importance in determining the history of the world and in directing that history to the ultimate benefit of mankind, and I am not ashamed of any action that I have ever taken in defending the Soviet Union.

Representative KEEFE. All right. We understand that. Let me ask you this: In 1933 did you understand the fact that this country had not yet recognized diplomatically the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVETT. We wished to bring about that recognition.

Representative KEEFE. But it had not yet been brought about—had it—in 1933?

Mr. LOVETT. It was brought about, I think, in the course of that year, as far as I remember.

Representative KEEFE. I am not sure of the exact time.

Mr. LOVETT. Neither am I.

Representative KEEFE. But I don't think it occurred until perhaps 1934, or the latter part of 1933. I would not be certain on that. I am not attempting to mislead you. You remember it better than I,

because you were closer to it and more interested in it at that time than I was. As a matter of fact, prior to the time of diplomatic recognition by this country of Russia there was considerable complaint about the infiltration of communism into this country and the building up of organizations in this country which were dedicated to the avowed purpose of overthrowing and destroying not only this country but other countries throughout the world—a world revolution. You knew that at that time, in 1933, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I knew that the policy of the Soviet Union at that time was to build socialism in one country and to abjure earlier plans for a world revolution. By 1933 the plans which had prevailed under Trotsky had been repudiated by the Soviet Union; and I believed that it would be of advantage to this country, as well as to the Soviet Union and to the whole world, if we recognized the Soviet Union as one of the family of nations.

Representative KEEFE. Did I understand you to say that the Soviet Government had excommunicated and expelled Trotsky in 1933?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I think that goes back to 1926.

Representative KEEFE. Do you recall the fact to be that great publicity was given to the fact that at the time diplomatic recognition was extended to the Soviet Government by the express agreement between the Soviet Government and this Government that they would no longer propagandize and interfere in the domestic affairs of the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, certainly.

Representative KEEFE. And you know that from that time on front organizations began to be established and instead of direct action the Communist Party went into so-called front organization plan? You remember that, do you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not connect that with the agreement which the Soviet Union made diplomatically with the United States.

Representative KEEFE. Forget that, then. But you do know that that is what they did?

Mr. LOVETT. I know that the movement toward front organizations went on through that period when the world was threatened with a renewal of war.

Representative KEEFE. You belonged to an organization called All-America Anti-Imperialist League, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. My recollection, sir, is very vague. I know that I was opposed to American military intervention in the Caribbean, and I believe that organization was formed in order to protest against and discourage the use of armed forces by the United States in Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and so forth.

Representative KEEFE. It was against American imperialism?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. It was an anti-imperialistic league. Was it international in character?

Mr. LOVETT. I am very vague, I say, as to my relation to that organization, but it is very likely that, holding the views that I did, I participated in some of their meetings and may have signed some of the statements they issued.

Representative KEEFE. It had sections scattered all through South and Central America and Cuba, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Not that I know of.

Representative KEEFE. I have one of its letterheads here before me, and your name appears on this letterhead under date of April 11, 1928, and it mentions sections in Puerto Rico, Mexico, Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. That was an assertion of the good-neighbor policy a little before that became the official policy of this Government.

Representative KEEFE. Is it not a fact that this was nothing more nor less than just a Communist-front organization, dominated and controlled by Communists, and has been found so to be?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know that. In the letterheads, let me say, that represent these various organizations there will be found many persons like myself who were not Communists but who participated in the organization along with Communists for a common object.

Representative KEEFE. You draw a distinction between a profit motive and a profit system?

Mr. LOVETT. The system grows out of the motive.

Representative KEEFE. Do you draw a distinction between the profit motive and the profit system?

Mr. LOVETT. Only in this, that the motive is a psychological affair and the system is an economic affair.

Representative KEEFE. Can you not answer my question? Do you draw a distinction?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; as I draw a distinction between psychology and political economy.

Representative KEEFE. You may believe in the profit motive and not believe in the profit system; is not that true?

Mr. LOVETT. It is possible.

Representative KEEFE. You have indicated in the prior examination that you believed in the profit motive.

Mr. LOVETT. I believe it exists and I believe it has resulted in human progress.

Representative KEEFE. Do you believe in a profit system?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe in a profit system with certain limitations.

Representative KEEFE. There are many men classified in the same category as yourself who do not believe in the profit system and who are willing to believe in a profit motive.

Mr. LOVETT. We must believe in a profit motive, because it is a fact of human nature.

Representative KEEFE. The profit motive is in vogue in Russia today, is it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; it is in vogue everywhere. It is a trait of human nature.

Representative KEEFE. But the profit system is not in vogue in Russia, is it?

Mr. LOVETT. I would dislike to be asked to define in detail the system of economy in vogue in Russia. Formally, of course, the profit system is not in vogue in Russia. It has been replaced by a system of state socialism.

Representative KEEFE. But the profit motive is to be found, because of the differentiation in the returns that workers receive for their work: A superintendent in a factory receives more money than a laborer.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. That is the profit motive, is it not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you may speak of being in favor of the profit motive, but you may be utterly opposed to the profit system.

Now, I would like to know your views. I may say to you that we have had a number of witnesses who have very clearly drawn that distinction.

Mr. LOVETT. I tried to draw it clearly in saying that the profit motive is a trait of human nature. It is a matter of human psychology and it will be so under any system of government control. The profit system is one in which the whole economy of a country depends upon the exercise of the profit motive and its unlimited exercise. I believe that the profit system will have to be and is being modified as the result of the advance in social thinking and social action throughout the world.

Representative KEEFE. You think that in addition to that the capitalistic system will have to be modified?

Mr. LOVETT. It will be modified and is being modified.

Representative KEEFE. And you think it is being modified by the O. P. A., and so on?

Mr. LOVETT. It is being modified by the force of necessity.

Representative KEEFE. By force of war necessity?

Mr. LOVETT. Partly; but the same process must go on in time of peace.

Representative KEEFE. You do not think it has reached a point yet that would approach the ultimate objective of those who think as you do, do you?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not know exactly what the ultimate objective is. I can only say that I believe in a balance of human forces for the benefit of mankind and I believe that a place must be made in that progress for such a force as the profit motive.

Representative KEEFE. Do you think that a process of gradualism ever accomplishes a social objective?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; when the objective is sound and right.

Representative KEEFE. Can you point to any social objective or change that has been accomplished by a process of gradualism?

Mr. LOVETT. I should say that our economy in the United States at the present day has been a result of gradual evolution from the period immediately after the Civil War, when individualism and the freedom of the individual to exploit the natural resources of the country and the people of the country was unlimited. From that time on to the present time we have had a process of the gradual limitation of those individualistic motives, the development of social methods and social forms of control.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you complaining in view of the fact that we have men and corporations in this country now who are much wealthier than they ever were before?

Mr. LOVETT. I think that is the result of the progress of which I speak, a gradual progress toward society rather than the individual.

Representative KEEFE. Progress the wrong way.

Mr. LOVETT. We have got a long way to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not hesitate to criticize our country, which has less than 6 percent of the people of the world under our flag, less than one-fifth of the area of the world, does half of the business of the world and has half of the wealth of the world? Do you not hesitate to criticize a Government of that kind?

Mr. LOVETT. Of course, I hesitate to criticize the Government of my country.

The CHAIRMAN. A Government which has been organized on the foundation of human liberty? Do you not hesitate to criticize it?

Mr. LOVETT. I do hesitate.

Representative POWERS. You hesitate, but you do it.

Mr. LOVETT. I hesitate to criticize. But I believe that the only function of criticism is progress. I believe the benefits of which you speak are incontestable. But I believe that through progress, through advance, those benefits will be preserved and others added to them, and I believe that criticism is a method of securing that advance.

The CHAIRMAN. It is known today to have the best-fed, the best-armed, and best-equipped soldiers on this earth, is it not?

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the best-fed and best-equipped people in the world?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot quite understand how a learned gentleman like you, who has been in touch with the life and history of this country, could be inclined to criticize an achievement of that kind.

Mr. LOVETT. I criticize the achievement only in the interest of further progress. The result that you speak of is the result of progress, progress that has been continuous, you may almost say, from Plymouth Rock; certainly from the American Revolution, and very marked since the Civil War.

The CHAIRMAN. Communists do not subscribe to our philosophy of life and our philosophy of freedom.

Mr. LOVETT. I am not responsible for the Communist philosophy, and I have never endorsed it, and my association with Communists has been strictly for common ends which I believe in.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are going to associate with anyone, unless you know they are in sympathy with our Government and our philosophy, don't you think you at least get into bad company?

Mr. LOVETT. In the judgment of the committee, certainly.

Representative POWERS. In your judgment?

Mr. LOVETT. Not in mine; no. I would say, in bad company so far as it appears that I have lost the good opinion of people whom I respect and whose good opinion I value. I regret that.

Representative POWERS. My old mother used to say to me when I was a little bit of a kid, "Sonny, you will always be judged by the company you keep." That is a pretty good old American adage, is it not?

Mr. LOVETT. That is the principle on which this committee is judging me.

Representative POWERS. No; I would not say that. I say that is a pretty good old American adage.

Representative KEEFE. We have not even started yet to go through your work, Professor Lovett.

Representative POWERS. I have about half a dozen questions, and then I think my entire examination will be concluded.

Professor, you made a speech in Chicago on August 20, 1930, entitled, "Why I shall vote Socialist." Am I correct in that assertion?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall the occasion precisely, but I presume that is correct.

Representative POWERS. See if this will refresh your memory. You have been quoted as having made the following statement in that speech:

I shall vote for Norman Thomas for President, because he is the only man who will take the control of this country away from the capitalists and place the control in the hands of the people. The Socialist Party is the party of the poor and working classes. The Communist Party is also a party of the laboring and working classes, and their candidate, Earl Browder, stands for the same things as does Norman Thomas. But I believe the Socialist Party is the best approach to the problem that confronts us today. A worker today must either be a Communist or a Socialist, for neither of the older parties offers any hope. President Roosevelt has been in power for 4 years and has done nothing. It is still the same old system under which the workers are taxed to help the capitalist to get more money and power.

Vote for Norman Thomas, and through him you will be voting for yourselves.

Do you recall making that statement?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't recall making it, but I admit that I did make it—I mean, on the basis of the evidence that you have produced.

Representative POWERS. Let me put it another way.

Mr. LOVETT. I am quite willing to admit it.

Representative POWERS. That was your political philosophy at that time?

Mr. LOVETT. That was my attitude in that election. I wanted to get as large a vote as possible for Norman Thomas; and if I exaggerated in that political speech I am afraid I did what political orators frequently do in running down the exploits of their opponents.

Representative POWERS. They frequently do that. I agree with you there. But at the same time, when you were favoring the cause of Norman Thomas you were giving our friend Earl Browder a very lovely little pat on the back, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I was hoping to draw Communist votes for Norman Thomas, which I thought was the only likely method of rolling up a considerable protest vote for him.

Representative POWERS. That was your political philosophy in 1930. Is it your political philosophy now?

Mr. LOVETT. As I have defined it, yes—with the emphasis upon social rather than upon individual motives.

Representative POWERS. But you still believe now that "it is still the same old system under which the workers are taxed to help the capitalist to get more money and power." Do you still believe that?

Mr. LOVETT. I think there has been great progress in the direction of giving the workers a fair wage for their work and in distributing social burdens among the rest of the population. I think in 1936 that was an exaggerated statement, but it was historically true up to about that time that the workers had borne, in my opinion, a larger share of the burdens of society than had other classes.

Representative POWERS. Do you still believe that President Roosevelt, as you said in that speech, had done nothing in the 4 years he had been in office?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I say that was an exaggerated statement, and I apologize for it. It was a political campaign speech.

Representative POWERS. In other words, it was political oratory?

Mr. LOVETT. It was. It was perhaps the only attempt I ever made at political oratory.

Representative POWERS. Professor, tell me this: When did you take office with the Department of the Interior?

Mr. LOVETT. In July 1939.

Representative POWERS. After you became connected with the Department did you, in 1941, write an article or a series of articles for the New Masses or the New Republic?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative POWERS. You did not?

Mr. LOVETT. I think I wrote a book review or a communication to the New Masses. I do not recall any writing for any publication to be regarded as a series of articles.

Representative POWERS. But you wrote an article. We will put it that way.

Mr. LOVETT. I think I wrote one article—a review of a book.

Representative POWERS. For the New Masses?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative POWERS. That is the organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVETT. It is one of their organs; yes.

Representative POWERS. Were you ever called and asked about this article or these articles by any of your superiors in the Department?

Mr. LOVETT. No. There was only one article, and I am not sure whether it was a formal article or a communication. It was, as I say, in reference to a book.

Representative POWERS. A short time ago when Mr. Keefe was questioning you about this meeting in the city of New York under the auspices of the Congress Against War, held in October 1933, and was questioning you about Mother Bloor—you were chairman of that meeting and turned the meeting over to Mother Bloor, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I have no recollection of that.

Representative POWERS. That is all I have. Thank you.

Representative KEEFE. It has been alleged here that at various meetings you have administered the Oxford oath.

Mr. LOVETT. I never administered it.

Representative KEEFE. Do you know what the Oxford oath is?

Mr. LOVETT. The Oxford oath is an oath on the part of individuals not to take part in war. I have always opposed the giving and the taking of the oath, because I did not believe that it could possibly be kept. It was not a pledge that could be kept. I admit that after the Kellogg Pact in which the United States as a Nation took a similar oath with other nations of the world to repudiate war, as a measure of national policy, the tendency for individuals to affirm their adherence to that position in their individual capacity was very strong as to many of them. I have been at meetings when the oath has been administered and taken, but my own position was that it is always unwise to take a pledge that you cannot keep, whether it is about liquor or war or any other matter.

Representative KEEFE. You did not actually administer the oath at any meeting yourself?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Representative KEEFE. One other question, please. You have stated that your position at present is specifically what?

Mr. LOVETT. Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands.

Representative KEEFE. And as Secretary you were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Representative KEEFE. And you get \$5,600 a year; is that what I understood you to say?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it is \$5,800.

Representative KEEFE. And you live where?

Mr. LOVETT. In St. Thomas, V. I.

Representative KEEFE. What are your duties?

Mr. LOVETT. My duties are to act as Governor of the Virgin Islands when the Governor is absent.

Representative KEEFE. Who is the Governor?

Mr. LOVETT. His Excellency, Charles Harwood. My very important duties as Government Secretary are, I should say, of a social nature, to deal with the differences between the native inhabitants and their employers, who are mostly from outside, contractors working on military works; helping them in their relations to the Government officials, trying to adjust their social relations and their family relations. Our percentage of illegitimacy is over 50, and the islands cannot economically support a fragmentation of families to that extent. The family is an economic unit, and when a young man encumbers himself and society with four or five or six or even more of what are known as outside children, the question of adjusting the claims of his legitimate family which he may assume later and the outside children that he has scattered through the community becomes a matter of considerable delicacy.

I want to say that my position in the Virgin Islands is more essentially that, I would say, of a social worker trying to adjust the relations of individuals to the system under which they live.

Representative KEEFE. Do you have the capacity or ability to put any regulations or rules into effect there to carry out your social ideas?

Mr. LOVETT. No. The municipal council publishes the laws for the island. I execute them so far as they concern my office.

Representative KEEFE. You have a right to advise, do you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you do advise them?

Mr. LOVETT. I do in matters that are particularly matters of social and economic relations.

Representative KEEFE. You have a pretty good chance, then, to put into force your social and economic ideas down there, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. No. I should not for a moment infuse my social philosophy, whatever it may be, into the work of a position to which I had been appointed.

Representative KEEFE. I say, you have an opportunity to, do you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I doubt it. I have never tried, and I doubt very much whether the people of the island would understand or sympathize with the views that I have been led to express here this afternoon. I should not try in any case.

Representative KEEFE. You were examined before a subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee handling the appropriation bill for the Interior Department, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. Examined at some length?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You are familiar with all of the questions and answers?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And you stand by what you said in that examination, do you?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. You told the truth there to that committee?

Mr. LOVETT. I did.

Representative KEEFE. You were not under oath, were you?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I stated at the close that if I knew of any organization that I belonged to, that was regarded as subversive by the Attorney General, I should resign. I am repeating the statement that I made here at the beginning.

Representative KEEFE. You mean, you would resign now?

Mr. LOVETT. As soon as I knew it had been pronounced as a subversive organization. As a Government secretary, as an employee of the Department of the Interior, I should not maintain an attitude of individual choice in such a matter. I should accept the judgment of the Department of Justice.

Representative KEEFE. When did you come back to the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. When did I come back?

Representative KEEFE. This last time.

Mr. LOVETT. Two days ago.

Representative KEEFE. When was the last time you were here before that?

Mr. LOVETT. I left the United States on—at least I arrived in the Virgin Islands on October 13, 1941.

Representative KEEFE. You have had a little difficulty with the Secretary, have you not, over your membership in some of these organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not call it a difficulty.

Representative KEEFE. You have embarrassed him some, have you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I am afraid so.

Representative KEEFE. I will put it that way. Your attention was called to the fact that your membership in the League for American Writers, and that sort of thing, was embarrassing to the Secretary of the Interior, was it not?

Mr. LOVETT. The fact that I signed a call for the meeting of the League of American Writers was described to me as embarrassing by the Secretary, and I was very sorry. I wrote him an explanation to the effect that inasmuch as I had at least some influence upon pacifists and others devoted to peace I felt it my duty at that time to point out to them that the only way in which we could have peace was through collective security, through supporting nations that were fighting for a world order.

Representative KEEFE. He himself advised you at that time that this organization was following the Communist Party line, did he not?

Mr. LOVETT. I heard nothing from him after my disclaimer of any political intention.

Representative KEEFE. He wrote you and told you, did he not, that this organization was following the Communist Party line?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And that your sponsoring it was an embarrassment to him. Did you resign from that organization then?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative KEEFE. You have not resigned up-to-date, have you?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative KEEFE. You still belong to it?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Representative KEEFE. And are still paying dues?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not sure about that. But I have not resigned. But if that organization were pronounced as a subversive organization, I should resign.

Representative POWERS. Your boss told you it had Communistic leanings, and still you did not resign?

Mr. LOVETT. He did not state that in his own view it was a subversive organization. He did state that it followed the Communist line. But I do not think that an organization is necessarily subversive if it does agree in matters of foreign policy with the Soviet Union.

Representative KEEFE. As a matter of fact, the Secretary advised you, as a member of this League of American Writers, that this league was following the Communist Party line and that your membership in that league was an embarrassment to him?

Mr. LOVETT. No; that my signing the call for a convention was an embarrassment—that my name should appear in that connection. I explained that I signed it for the express purpose of setting forth a position that he and I agreed upon.

Representative KEEFE. He never fired you, anyway, did he?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Representative KEEFE. And you have not resigned from the organization?

Mr. LOVETT. If he had replied and had said that apart from my signing the call, which I agreed was unfortunate and a mistake, that still he thought my membership in the organization was embarrassing, I should have resigned. That organization has a long roll of important American writers, writers who are particularly important at the present time in maintaining the morale in this country, in maintaining the disposition of this country to go through with our present undertaking to destroy facism in the world.

Representative KEEFE. Don't you believe that when all the facts of your connection with all these Communist front organizations and Communist organizations are presented to the country they are going to be a distinct embarrassment to the Secretary of the Interior?

Mr. LOVETT. I hope not.

Representative KEEFE. I am certain that they will be. I think you ought to call him up and tell him to accept your resignation before this stuff goes out to the United States. We have not even started to dig into the things you have done and the organizations you have belonged

to and the utterances you have expressed. There is so much of it that we would be here a month in order to go through it all.

Mr. LOVETT. I think you have covered the subject pretty thoroughly.

Representative KEEFE. We have hardly started on it. I want to test in my own mind your attitude toward the man who has put you down there to represent your Government. If the Secretary says that your signing this call was an embarrassment to him, what his embarrassment must be when he gets all these other facts is beyond me. I would not think that you would want to embarrass the Secretary of the Interior who has been kind to you and who has stood by you.

Mr. LOVETT. I certainly do not wish to embarrass the Secretary; and he knows, of course, that at any time he thinks my leaving the Government service would be a relief to him from embarrassment, he can have my resignation. He knows that perfectly well.

Representative POWERS. I think Mr. Keefe's point is that if just signing this call brought forth a letter from the Secretary of the Interior saying that he was embarrassed, what in the world is he going to do, as Mr. Keefe says, after he learns of these scores of organizations that you belonged to and have sponsored, many of them Communist-front organizations, and a lot of them branded by the Attorney General as subversive?

Mr. LOVETT. I never knew that.

Representative POWERS. What in the world is his embarrassment going to be then?

Mr. LOVETT. That is for him to say, not for me.

Major ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Lovett has already testified as to his association and connection with these various organizations. We have here 52 exhibits bearing upon his connection with these various organizations.

Representative KEEFE. I would ask that the record taken before the subcommittee of the House of Representatives Appropriation Committee, before which Mr. Lovett appeared, be made a part of the proceedings before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be done.

Representative KEEFE. And I would also like to ask that all the exhibits numbered from 1 to 54 be made a part of the record in this case.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be presented to Mr. Lovett by our attorney and we will have him identify them or deny them.

Major ALLEN. I was going to offer them in evidence in the order in which they come.

I would suggest that the copy of the testimony before the Appropriations Committee of the House, referred to by Representative Keefe, be marked "Exhibit A."

(Copy of transcript of testimony of the witness Lovett before the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee was marked "Exhibit A.")

Major ALLEN. I offer in evidence, first, as exhibit No. 1, page 1808 of the journal of the senate of the State of Illinois.

You may examine it, if you want to [handing document to the witness].

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

I offer in evidence exhibit No. 2, showing a photostatic copy of a letter and letterhead of the organization known as All America Anti-imperialist League, showing that Dr. Robert Morss Lovett is one of the members of the national committee.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibit No. 3 I offer a photostat of the official program of the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, showing that Mr. Lovett was a sponsor of this program.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibit No. 4 I offer in evidence a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the International Labor Defense, showing that Robert Morss Lovett was a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibit No. 5, I offer in evidence a photostatic copy of a letter showing Robert Morss Lovett as a contributing editor of the magazine known as Soviet Russia Today.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibit No. 6 I offer a photostatic copy of pages 2 and 3 of an official booklet of the American Youth Congress, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a signer of the call to the Congress of Youth.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibit No. 7 I offer a photostatic copy of the title page of a publication known as Champion of Youth, showing the name of Robert M. Lovett as an advisory editor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

As exhibits Nos. 8 and 9 I offer photostatic copies of the front and back sides of a letterhead of an organization known as the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, showing the name of Robert M. Lovett as a sponsor of that organization.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Mr. LOVETT. May I make a statement in reference to this committee?
Major ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. LOVETT. I signed the call for the peace mobilization for the express purpose of defending the idea of collective security and the full support by the United States by economic means of the countries which were fighting for collective security, notably England.

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 10, photostat of a letterhead of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a sponsor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibits Nos. 11 and 12, photostatic copies of open letter to American liberals, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a signer.

(These exhibits were presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 13, photostatic copy of the official program of the Student Congress Against War, on the last page of which appears the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the national committee of the organization.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibits Nos. 14 to 18, inclusive, are reproductions of the official program of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties

in America, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a sponsor for the conference.

(These exhibits were presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 19, reproduction of a letter on the letterhead of Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, which is an auxiliary of American League for Peace and Democracy, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a sponsor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 20, reproduction of an article from Daily Worker of January 16, 1938, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a contest judge for the organizations as follows: American Writers, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the American Student Union.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 21, photostat of a letterhead of medical bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a member of the national committee.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 22, a reproduction of a letter in defense of the Communist Party, which was addressed to the President, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a signer.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 23, a photostat of a call to the fourth congress of League of American Writers, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a signer of this call.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 24, a reproduction of a petition for freedom of 400 Japanese professors and other leaders, published in the Daily Worker, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a signer.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 25, a reproduction of a letterhead of the organization known as American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a member of the organization's advisory board.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 26, a reproduction of an article from the Daily Worker of January 10, 1938, in which it is stated that Robert Morris Lovett sent greetings.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 27, photostat of a letterhead of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, showing Robert Morris Lovett as a member.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 28, photostat of a letterhead of the National Committee for People's Rights, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a member.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 29, photostat of the front and back sides of a letterhead of the American League Against War and Fascism, showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as vice chairman.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 30, photostat of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as vice chairman.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 31, photostat of a letterhead on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as one who signed an appeal to the members of the faculty of the University of Chicago.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 32, reproduction of an official circular of the 1939 Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as an endorser.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 33, photostat of a letterhead of National Peoples Committee Against Hearst, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 34, reproduction of page 25 of the New Masses dated May 4, 1937, on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a signer of the call for the second congress of the League of American Writers.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 35, reproduction of the back page of the official circular of the American Student Union, on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member of the organization's advisory board.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 36, reproduction of a letter to the New Masses, in which it is charged that the President and Secretary of State were under domination of a nest of Fascist sympathizers in the State Department; letter signed by Robert Morss Lovett.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibits Nos. 37 to 39, inclusive, reproductions of a public statement upon the government in the Soviet Union, published in the magazine Soviet Russia Today, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a signer.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 40, reproduction of a page of signatures from the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 41, reproduction of a letterhead of the League for Mutual Aid, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the organization's advisory committee.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 42, reproduction of the title page of the August 1936 issue of the magazine Champion of Youth, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as an advisory editor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 43, photostat of an article from the Daily Worker of March 19, 1940, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a signer of a letter defending the presence of

Communists on the governing board of the American Civil Liberties Union.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 44, photostatic copy of an article from The Daily Worker of August 30, 1937, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the arrangements committee, I will say for a parade. I don't know just what it is. I think it is a celebration of some kind.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Mr. LOVETT. Parade of marchers for peace.

Major ALLEN. That is right.

Exhibit No. 45, photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of November 5, 1936, giving an account of a public rally on behalf of the Communist Party's candidate for President, Earl Browder, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears.

(This exhibit was presented to Mr. Lovett.)

Mr. LOVETT. May I say, in reference to exhibit 45, the account is not correct; not strictly correct. Put in "strictly."

Major ALLEN. All right.

Exhibit No. 46, photostatic copy of an announcement or call for a united front conference, published in the magazine known as Fight, F-i-g-h-t; is that right?

Mr. LOVETT. Correct.

Major ALLEN. Showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 47, photostatic copy of announcement of meeting held under the auspices of Committee to Save Spain and China, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a sponsor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 48, photostatic copy of an article from Daily Worker May 12, 1933, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the National Mooney Council of Action.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 49, photostatic copy of article from Daily Worker July 1, 1939, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a sponsor for celebration in honor of Ella Reeve Bloor.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 50, photostatic copy of article from Daily Worker March 22, 1938, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a sponsor of a meeting at which the former Soviet Ambassador A. A. Troyanovsky spoke on the question of the Moscow purge trials.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 51, photostatic copy of article from Daily Worker April 8, 1938, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as sponsor for the China Aid Council.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 52, photostatic copy of article from Daily Worker July 23, 1938, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the American Council on Soviet Relations.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 53, photostat copy of article from Daily Worker of January 18, 1937, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as approving the right of sit-down strikes as an industrial and economic right if that has not been recognized as a civil right. I think that is a correct statement of it, Doctor [handing exhibit to Mr. Lovett]?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; correct.

Major ALLEN. Exhibit No. 54 is a photostatic copy of letterhead of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, showing the name of Robert Morss Lovett as one of the organization's members.

(This exhibit was presented to and identified by Mr. Lovett.)

Major ALLEN. Now, Doctor, is there anything else?

Mr. LOVETT. Is that all?

Major ALLEN. That is all.

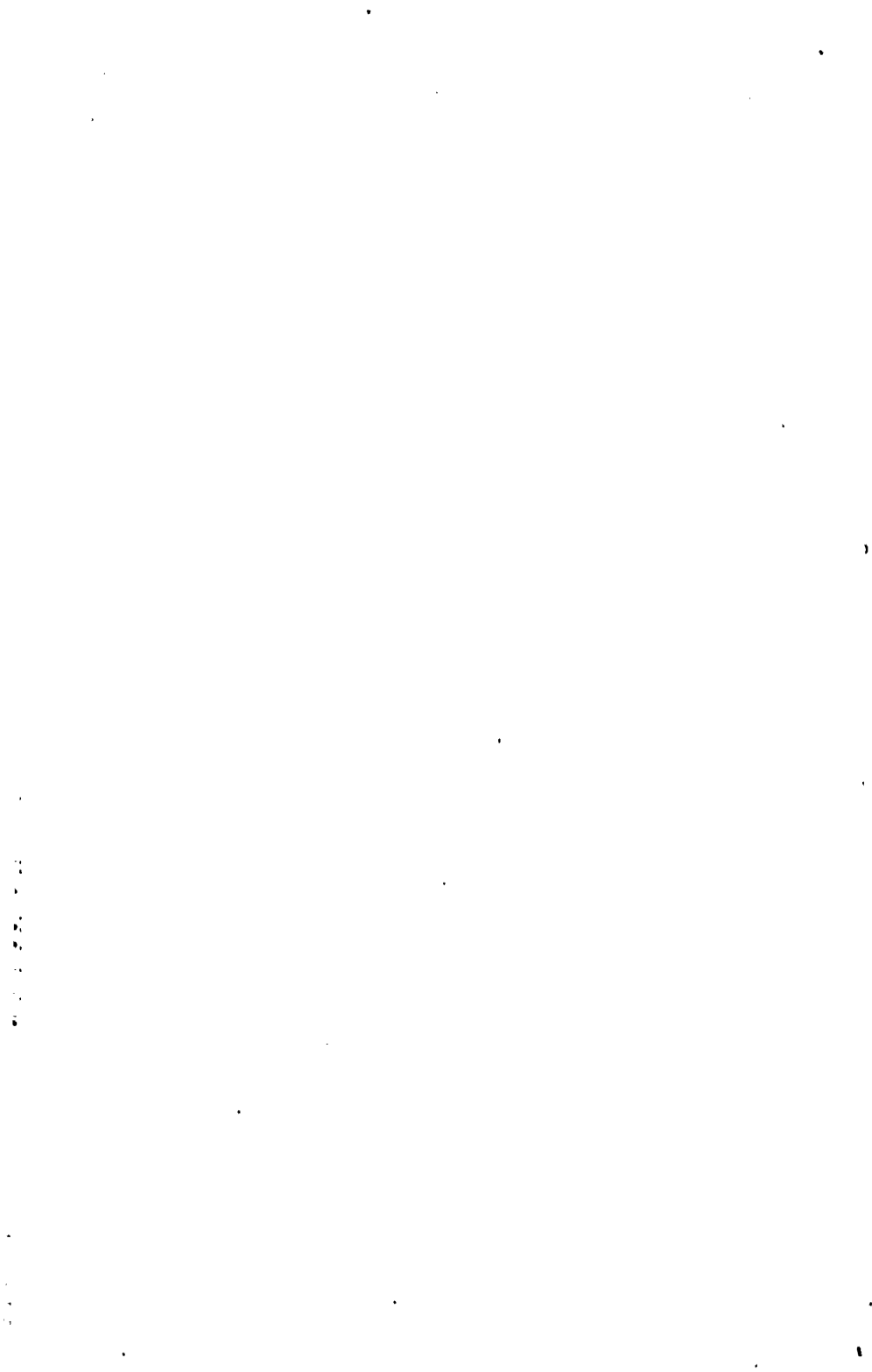
Mr. LOVETT. All right.

Major ALLEN. If there is any statement you want to make you may do so.

Mr. LOVETT. I am sorry you had to read all those.

Major ALLEN. Well, that is all right, sir. We just want to get this. They were turned over to this committee, and they had to go into the record. All right, sir.

(Thereupon, at 5:05 p. m. an adjournment was taken until tomorrow, Friday, April 16, 1943, at 10 a. m.)



APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A. EXHIBITS RELATING TO ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

In the case of Robert Morss Lovett, secretary of the Virgin Islands, a post which is under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, *it is charged*

FIRST

That a committee of the Illinois State Senate issued an official report on June 26, 1935, in which said Lovett's unpatriotic activities were condemned in the strongest language.

Exhibit No. 1 is a photostat of the findings of the Illinois Senate committee on Robert Morss Lovett.

The following statement concerning Robert Morss Lovett is to be found on page 1308 of the Journal of the Senate of the Forty-ninth General Assembly of the State of Illinois:

EXHIBIT 1

Exhibits offered in evidence disclosing Prof. Lovett's activities in communistic or unpatriotic organizations and associations with communistic speakers, regardless of their reputation, prove that Prof. Lovett cannot be an asset to any forward looking American educational institution. His personal attitude and testimony before the committee were unsatisfactory. He has frequently participated in communistic meetings in Illinois and other States. The Oxford pledge was given to students at meetings he attended. Fair consideration of all evidence received by the committee compels the conclusion that Prof. Robert Morss Lovett has pursued an unpatriotic course of conduct for a period of eight or ten years. From the testimony and exhibits considered by the committee, he is not loyal to the spirit or letter of the Constitution of Illinois or the United States. However, Prof. Lovett lost a son in the World War.

AND SECOND

That said Lovett was a member of the national committee of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

Exhibit No. 2 is a photostatic copy of a letter which shows that Robert Morss Lovett was a member of the national committee of the afore-mentioned organization.

In his decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges, the Attorney General declared that the All-America Anti-Imperialist League was a Communist-front organization.

The files of the Dies committee show that the organization was not only a Communist front but that it was one which openly professed treasonable objectives, namely agitation for Communist aims in the armed forces of the United States.

It will be noted that William Pickens, employee of the Treasury Department, was also a member of the national committee of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

EXHIBIT No. 2

Sections in Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and the United States

National committee: Clarence Darrow, James H. Maurer, Alexander Howat, Roger Baldwin, Socrates Pandino, Charlotte Anita Whitney, H. H. Broach, Lewis S. Gannett, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Scott Nearing, John Brophy, William Blewitt, William Mahoney, S. A. Stockwell, William Z. Foster, Paxton Hibben, W. E. B. Du Bois, William Pickens, L. J. De Bekker, Louis F. Budenz, Robert W. Dunn, Albert Weisbord, Robert Morris Lovett, Arthur Garfield Hays, Pablo Manlapit, Ben Gold, Anacleto Almenara, Freda Kirchway, Lillian Herstein, Hugo Oehler, Max Shachtman, Harry Gannes, Arthur C. Calhoun, Fred T. Douglas, Ernest Untermann, William F. Dunne, Harriet Silverman, Eduardo Machado, F. T. Lau, Theodore Debs, G. F. Vanderveer

MANUEL GOMEZ, *Secretary*

ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

(LIGA ANTIMPERIALISTA DE LAS AMERICAS)

United States Section—39 UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: ALgonquin 6760

Cable Address: ANTIMP

APRIL 11, 1928.

DEAR COMRADE: Many thanks for your letter of April 9th.

As requested we enclose herewith some of our circulars.

The official organ of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League is a magazine published in the Spanish language, entitled "El Libertador." If you can use this magazine, kindly let us know.

Trusting that we may be drawn closer together in the struggle against American imperialism and the arbitrary acts at home which are an inevitable accompaniment of it, we are,

Fraternally yours,

ALL-AMERICA ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE,
MANUEL GOMEZ,

Secretary United States Section.

AND THIRD

That said Lovett was a sponsor of the Communist front which is known as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Exhibit No. 3 is a photostat of the official program of the aforementioned organization whose back page shows the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a sponsor.

The Interdepartmental Committee found that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was a subversive organization.

EXHIBIT No. 3

CALL NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

April 10-20, Hotel Hamilton, Washington, D. C.

"No Blackout of Civil Rights!"

Everywhere throughout America the people have swung into action in defense of their civil rights. There is deep and mounting indignation at the attacks on Constitutional liberties.

These attacks are directed at the people—in homes, in factories, on farms, in organizations. They are directed against freedom of speech, press and assembly; the right to organize and bargain collectively; the right to privacy of membership lists; the right to vote as you please; the right to freedom of worship and opinion. They are carried on with police violence and vigilante intimidation.

These attacks are initiated or supported, in many instances, by agencies of federal, state and local government. Other assaults, less direct but more subversive of the people's sovereignty, are governmental proposals for mediation, arbitration, super-labor tribunals on a "voluntary" basis.

In Congress, now ready for enactment are bills on wire tapping; universal fingerprinting; repeal and drastic amendment of the National Labor Relations Act; outlawing closed shops; prohibiting strikes; deportation or concentration

camps for aliens; outlawing minority parties; life imprisonment for "treachery"; death sentence for "sabotage"; and life imprisonment for advocating changes in government.

In 43 state legislatures, similar bills or worse, are under consideration.

In the face of these attacks, the people have refused to give ground. They have moved forward, strong and unyielding, in defense of our American liberties which the forces of reaction, under the cloak of war hysteria, would destroy.

From coast to coast come reports of successful action:

New organizations to defend civil liberties are springing up.

State-wide conferences to defend civil rights are being organized.

From thousands of people come mass protests.

Everywhere the fight for civil rights, though different in detail, in essence is the same. The time has now come to pool our experiences and ideas. Systematic strategy is required on a national scale to defend Constitutional liberties.

Therefore, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is calling a NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS. This is a conference, not for talk, but to plan and act.

The masses of the people demand, "No blackout of civil rights!"

"THE WAY TO KEEP FREE SPEECH IS TO SPEAK"

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

OFFICERS

Chairman: Rev. Owen A. Knox, Detroit, Mich.

Vice chairmen:

Josephine Truslow Adams, Philadelphia, Pa.

Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Congressman from New York.

Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles, Calif.

Alfred K. Stern, New York, N. Y.

Max Yergan, New York, N. Y.

Executive committee:

Alice Barrows, Washington, D. C.

Joseph Curran, New York, N. Y.

Bertha Josselyn Foss, New York, N. Y.

Joseph Gelders, Trussville, Ala.

Charles Graham, Denver, Colo.

Dashlell Hammett, New York, N. Y.

Pearl M. Hart, Chicago, Ill.

Executive committee—Continued.

Abraham Isserman, Newark, N. J.

Edward Lamb, Toledo, Ohio.

Harry Lamberton, Washington, D. C.

Rosalie Manning, New York, N. Y.

George Marshall, New York, N. Y.

Rabbi Moses Miller, New York, N. Y.

O. M. Orton, Seattle, Wash.

Michael Quill, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Robert K. Speer, New York, N. Y.

Rev. William B. Spofford, Middletown, N. J.

Morris Watson, New York, N. Y.

Frances Williams, New York, N. Y.

Nathan Witt, New York, N. Y.

Rev. Paul S. Wright, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Treasurer: Benjamin Allen.

Secretary: Eve Budd.

Executive secretary: Milton N. Kemnitz.

SPONSORS

Dr. Thomas Addis, San Francisco, Calif.

Oscar Ameringer, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Robenia Anthony, Springfield, Mass.

Elmer Benson, Appleton, Minn.

Hon. John T. Bernard, Eveleth, Minn.

Herbert Biberman, Hollywood, Calif.

Louis P. Birk, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Ernst P. Boas, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Frans Boas, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Henry Bibby, Kingston, N. Y.

Dr. George L. Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.

Prof. Harold Chapman Brown, Palo Alto, Calif.

Joseph Cadden, New York, N. Y.

Russell N. Chase, Cleveland, Ohio.

Ethel Clyde, Long Island, N. Y.

Mrs. Walter Cope, Germantown, Pa.

David Davis, Philadelphia, Pa.

John P. Davis, Washington, D. C.

Annetta M. Dieckmann, Chicago, Ill.

Bella V. Dodd, New York, N. Y.

James R. Dumpson, Philadelphia, Pa.

Robert W. Dunn, New York, N. Y.

Goldie Ervin, Philadelphia, Pa.

Elmer O. Fehlhaber, Cleveland, Ohio.

Ishmael P. Flory, Chicago, Ill.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York, N. Y.

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES—Continued

SPONSORS—continued

Sara Bard Field, Los Gatos, Calif.
 Mitchell Franklin, New Orleans, La.
 Dr. Harry J. Greeno, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mary Foley Grossman, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Prof. Melville J. Herskovits, Evanston, Ill.
 Charles H. Houston, Washington, D. C.
 Daniel Howard, Windsor, Conn.
 Rockwell Kent, Ausable Forks, N. Y.
 Carol King, New York, N. Y.
 Edward Lamb, Toledo, Ohio.
 Joseph Landy, Newark, N. J.
 Prof. Oliver W. Larkin, Northampton, Mass.
 Dr. M. V. Leof, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Georgia Lloyd, Chicago, Ill.
 Dr. Robert Lowenstein, Newark, N. J.
 Hon. Robert Morris Lovett, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.
 Robert W. MacGregor, Portland, Oreg.
 Dr. W. L. Mahoney, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. William M. Mallsoff, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Albert Malta, Long Island City, N. Y.
 Clifford T. McAvoy, New York, N. Y.
 Louis F. McCabe, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Dr. J. J. McClendon, Detroit, Mich.
 Prof. H. J. McFarlan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Jack McMichael, New York, N. Y.
 Tom Mooney, San Francisco, Calif.
 Harvey O'Connor, Chicago, Ill.
 William L. Patterson, Chicago, Ill.
 Harold J. Pritchett, Seattle, Wash.
 Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, New York, N. Y.
 Bertha C. Reynolds, Long Island City, N. Y.
 Donald Ogden Stewart, Beverly Hills, Calif.
 Mrs. Albert B. Tricker, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Saul C. Waldbaum, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Dorey A. Wilkerson, Washington, D. C.
 Rev. Edwin H. Wilson, Chicago, Ill.
 Ella Winter, Beverly Hills, Calif.
 Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Los Gatos, Calif.
 Art Young, New York, N. Y.

AND FOURTH

That said Lovett was a member of the national committee of the Communist front which is known as the International Labor Defense.

Exhibit No. 4 is a photostat of a letter which shows the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense.

The Attorney General, in his decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges, declared that the International Labor Defense is a Communist-front organization.

The Dies committee likewise has found that the International Labor Defense is a Communist-front organization.

EXHIBIT NO. 4

National officers: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, chairman; Edw. C. Wentworth, vice-chairman; Alfred Wagenknecht, executive secretary; Norman H. Tallentire, assistant secretary; Karl Reeve, editor, Labor Defender

National committee: Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Charles Cline, Clarence Darrow, Wm. Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunn, A. T. McNamara, Edw. C. Wentworth, Rose Kanar, Harrison George, Wm. Montgomery Brown, Wm. F. Dunne, George Maurer, Alice Stone Blackwell, Ellen Hayes, Robert Minor, Rose Baron, Wm. Mollenhaus, Henry Corbishley, Mandel Schnitzer, Dan Stevens, Ben Olkew, Robert Whitaker, Cora Meyer, F. G. Biedenkapp, David Rhye Williams, Fred Mann, John Edénstrom, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, Jacob Dolie, James P. Cannon, E. R. Melten, J. O. Bentall, Ralph Chaplin, Max Bedacht, William Bouek, John T. Taylor, D. J. Bentall, Charles Gray, Albert Weisbord, H. W. L. Dana, Robert Morris Lovett, Emil Arnold, Lucy B. Parsons, Pablo Manuelli, Richard Brainer, Jessica Henderson, Juliet Stuart Poynta, Max Schachtman, Ella Reeve Bloor, Paul Crouch, Earl R. Browder, William J. White, Clarins Michelson, William Pickens

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

80 East 11th Street. Room 402. New York City

Stuyvesant 9146

FEBRUARY 18, 1929.

DEAR COMRADE: We are sending for your use the enclosed check for \$5.00. We regret that it is not a larger amount. We hope to be able to send another check very shortly.

In the recent weeks there seems to have been a concerted effort made on the part of the Courts in the various States to press all labor defense cases pending before them. At least a dozen major defense cases have been cited for immediate trial, and the financial burden which the International Labor Defense has to bear is tremendous. The Mineola (Furriers) case, the Cheswick (riot in connection with Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration) case, the Woodlawn (sedition) case, the Minerich (Injunction) appeal before the United States Supreme Court, the New Bedford (conspiracy) case, the Canter (criminal libel) case, are only a few of the pressing obligations which the International Labor Defense has to meet, in order that these class war victims may receive adequate legal defense before the Courts, and that the workers may be advised through our press and propaganda of these persecutions and be mobilized to resist these new attacks on our front-rank fighters. The task of arousing the workers in protest and demonstration against the further incarceration of the class-war prisoners, is one that the International Labor Defense must meet, and to do this involves many thousands of dollars, dollars that we solicit from the working class for the defense of their class.

We realize full well how much you are in need of the comforts that our monthly checks bring to you, and regret that they have not been as regular in the last few months, as we would wish. We trust that you will be patient with us till our financial situation will improve, and we will then send you the full amount of the allowances due you till now.

We hope this letter finds you in the best of health. Accept the very sincere regards from all the members of the International Labor Defense, whose interest in you and yours is unflagging.

Fraternally yours,

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT,
Executive Secretary.

AND FIFTH

That said Lovett was a contributing editor of the magazine, *Soviet Russia Today*, official organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Exhibit No. 5 is a photostatic copy of a letter which shows the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a contributing editor of the aforementioned publication.

The Dies committee has found unanimously that the Friends of the Soviet Union was a Communist-front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 5

Stuyvesant 9-4173

Published by F. B. U. Publications, Inc., 80 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y. Marcel Scherer, national secretary, F. B. U.; A. A. Heller, editor; Upton M. Oak, managing editor. Contributing editors: N. Buchwald, Malcolm Cowley, H. W. L. Dana, L. Davis, Theodore Dreiser, Robert W. Farn, Wm. F. Dunne, M. Epstein, Wm. Z. Foster, Waldo Frank, Hugo Gellert, Eugene Gordon, Michael Gold, Maxim Gorki, Roy H. Hudson, N. K. Krupskaya, Joshua Kunitz, Robert Morris Lovett, Louis Lorowitz, Scott Nearing, Moisey J. Olgin, John Dos Passos, Harry A. Potamkin, Karl Radek, A. O. Richman, Romain Holland, Anna L. Strong, Upton Sinclair, Alexander Trainor, Charles R. Walker, Albert R. Williams

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

Illustrated monthly

JUNE 28, 1932.

DEAR FRIEND: Your name has been given us as one who is interested in the Soviet Union, and opposed to war. We are asking for a contribution, but hope you will not throw this appeal into the wastebasket without reading it.

Our magazine, *SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY*, is not yet self-sustaining. It is in danger of suspension and heroic measures are required to keep it alive. Refusal of second-class mailing rights by the Post Office Department has resulted in a loss of \$2,000 for our first six issues. If we get second-class mailing rights and our magazine continues to grow in circulation as it has in the past (from 10,000 to 40,000), it will be self-sustaining within six months.

To reach a sound financial basis it is necessary to build up a Sustaining Fund of \$3,000. We appeal to those who are sympathetic with our campaign for recognition of the Soviet government, with our opposition to armed intervention by Japan and other powers, with our endeavor to bring the facts about the first

workers' republic before the American people, to contribute to this Sustaining Fund. It may be a flat contribution or a pledge of a monthly sum of from one to ten dollars for six months; or if you prefer, a loan which we will repay.

The Editorial Board is doing its utmost to make our journal popular, lively and stimulating, full of human interest, giving a vivid picture of the life of Soviet workers and accurate information on the progress of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. Each issue has been an improvement over preceding issues. We can promise to continue this progress if our friends will come to our rescue in this emergency.

We urge you to make your contribution generous, but even dimes and quarters are welcome if you can't afford more. Send us names of friends and we will mail them free copies of the magazine.

Sincerely and fraternally yours.

MARCEL SCHERER,
National Secretary, Friends of the Soviet Union.
LISTON M. OAK,
Managing Editor, Soviet Russia Today.

AND SIXTH

That said Lovett was a signer of the "call" of the Communist-front organization which is known as the American Youth Congress.

Exhibit No. 6 is a photostat of pages 2 and 3 of an official booklet of the American Youth Congress which shows the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a signer of the afore-mentioned "call."

The Dies committee has found unanimously that the American Youth Congress is a front organization of the Communist Party.

The Interdepartmental Committee likewise found that the American Youth Congress was a subversive organization.

Among many other manifestations of the Communist domination of the American Youth Congress is the fact that the main organizing body behind the American Peace Mobilization was the American Youth Congress, and it will be recalled that the American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House for some weeks immediately prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia.

EXHIBIT NO. 6

CALLING THE CONGRESS OF YOUTH

We the undersigned urge the organizations of youth and the agencies serving youth to respond to this Call to the Congress of Youth. We take the initiative in calling the young people of America together to give them an opportunity to consider their mutual problems and train themselves for self-government by practicing citizenship.*

John P. Davis, National Negro Congress.	Lester F. Scott, Camp Fire Girls.
Courtenay Dinwiddie, National Child Labor Committee.	George N. Shuster, Commonweal.
Dorothy Canfield Fisher.	George Soule, Editor, The New Republic.
W. P. Freeman, Order of Rainbow for Girls.	Monroe Smith, American Youth Hostels Association.
T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League.	Oswald Garrison Villard, The Nation.
Chase Kimball, League of Nations Association.	C. W. Warbasse, Cooperative League of the U. S. A.
Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, Pan-Pacific Women's Association.	Richard Welling, National Self-Government Committee.
Leland Rex Robinson, League of Nations Association.	Max Yergan, International Committee on African Affairs.

* The signers are issuing this Call, not as the official representatives of their organizations, but in their personal capacities as individuals deeply concerned with the role of young people in the United States.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

- Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women.
 Esther Caukin Brunauer, American Association of University Women.
 Hannah Clothier Hull, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
 Lena Madeain Phillips, International Federation of Business and Professional Women.
 Josephine Schain, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

HEALTH

- Dr. Reginald M. Atwater, American Public Health Association.
 Dr. Kendall Emerson, National Tuberculosis Association.
 Dr. Edward Hume, Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work.
 E. D. Mitchell, Journal of Health and Physical Education.
 William F. Snow, American Social Hygiene Association.

EDUCATION

- LaRoy E. Bowman.
 William H. Bristow, National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
 Mrs. H. R. Butler, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.
 President W. W. Comfort, Haverford College.
 President Donald J. Cowling, Carleton College.
 President John W. Davis, West Virginia State College.
 Edgar J. Fisher, Institute of International Education.
 Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago.
 President Henry Noble MacCracken, Vassar College.
 Acting President Nelson P. Mead, College of the City of New York.
 Ordway Tead, Board of Education, New York.
 Irma E. Voight, National Association of Deans of Women.
 Mary E. Woolley, President Emeritus, Mount Holyoke College.

TRADE UNION

- Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.
 Heywood Broun, American Newspaper Guild.
 Redmond Burr, Order of Railway Telegraphers.
 Jerome Davis, American Federation of Teachers.
 Frank Gillmore, Associated Actors and Artists of America.
 J. B. S. Hardman, Editor, "The Advance," Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
 Gardner Jackson, Labor's Non-Partisan League.
 Spencer Miller, Jr., Workers Education Bureau of America.
 Phillip Murray, Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
 A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
 Reid Robinson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.
 Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League.
 A. F. Whitney, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

SOCIAL SERVICE

- Lucy P. Carner, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago.
 Charlotte Carr, Hull House.
 Hazel E. Foster, Association of Church Social Workers.
 Helen Hall, National Federation of Settlements.
 Fred K. Hoehler, American Public Welfare Association.
 Howard R. Knight, National Conference of Social Work.
 Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.
 Francis H. McLean, Family Welfare Association of America.
 Lillie M. Peck, National Federation of Settlements.
 Mary K. Simkhovitch, Greenwich House.
 Lillian D. Wald, Henry Street Settlement House.

GOVERNMENT

Ruth O. Blakeslee, Social Security Board.
 C. A. Bottolfsen, Governor of Idaho.
 Arnold B. Cammerer, National Parks Service.
 Arthur Capper, U. S. Senator from Kansas.
 John M. Coffee, U. S. Representative from Washington.
 L. D. Dickenson, Governor of Michigan.
 Matthew A. Dunn, U. S. Representative from Pennsylvania.
 James A. Farley, U. S. Postmaster General.
 Thomas F. Ford, U. S. Representative from California.
 Frank W. Fries, U. S. Representative from Illinois.
 Leo E. Geyer, U. S. Representative from California.
 Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior.
 Ed. V. Isaac, U. S. Representative from California.
 R. T. Jones, Governor of Arizona.
 Marvel M. Logan, U. S. Senator from Kentucky.
 Robert Marshall, United States Forestry Service.
 John Moses, Governor of North Dakota.
 James E. Murray, U. S. Senator from Montana.
 Culbert L. Olson, Governor of California.
 Robert F. Wagner, U. S. Senator from New York.
 C. W. Warburton, U. S. Department of Agriculture.
 M. L. Wilson, Under Secretary of Agriculture.

RELIGIOUS

Henry A. Atkinson, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.
 Naomi Brodie, Junior Hadassah.
 Mrs. Samuel McCrea Cayert, Young Women's Christian Association.
 Samuel M. Cohen, Young People's League of the United Synagogue of America.
 Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, Methodist Episcopal Church.
 Robert C. Dexter, American Unitarian Association.
 Mrs. Kendall Emerson, Young Women's Christian Association.
 Frederick L. Fagley, General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches.
 Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian Youth Commission.
 William E. Gardner, National Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church.
 Philip B. Heller, American Jewish Congress.
 Rufus M. Jones, American Friends Service Committee.
 Caroline B. Lourie, National Council of Jewish Juniors.
 Louise Meyrovitz, Young Judea.
 J. Carrell Morris, Christian Youth Council of North America.
 Helen Morton, National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Abyssinian Baptist Church.
 Henrietta Roelofs, Young Women's Christian Association.
 Carl C. Seitter, National Council of Methodist Youth.
 Katherine Terrill, Council for Social Action, Congregation and Christian Church.
 Jay A. Urice, Young Men's Christian Association.
 Charles C. Webber, Methodist Federation for Social Service.
 Bishop Herbert Welch, Methodist Episcopal Church.

AND SEVENTH

That said Lovett was an advisory editor of the Communist publication known as Champion of Youth.

Exhibit No. 7 is a photostat of the title page of the aforementioned publication which shows the name of Robert Morris Lovett as an advisory editor.

Champion of Youth was an official organ of the Young Communist League. Its editor, Morris Schnapper, was a member of the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 7

CHAMPION OF YOUTH

January 1937. Vol. II. No. 7

Opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of the magazine or its editors

The Champion of Youth, published monthly by Champion of Youth Publishers, 2 East 23rd St., room 508, New York City. Subscription, one year, \$1; single copies, 10 cents. Entered as second class matter, May 15, 1936, Post Office, New York, N. Y. Vol. II, No. 7.

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Editor: MORRIS SCHNAPPER

Business Manager and Managing Editor: IRVIN KEITH

Editorial board.—John Ames, Joseph Cohen, Dave Doran, Angelo Herndon, Roger Chase, Beryl Gilman, Hobe Juried, James Wechsler, Jane Whitbread.

Advisory editors.—Senator Lynn J. Frazier, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Prof. Jerome Davis, Oswald Garrison Villard, Frank Palmer, William Ziegner, C. Hartley Grattan, Jack Conroy, Kenneth M. Gould, Harry Elmer Barnes, Sherman Dryer, Robert Morris Lovett.

AND EIGHTH

That said Lovett was a sponsor of the Communist organization which was known as the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War.

Exhibits Nos. 8-9 are photostatic copies of the front and back side of a letterhead of the afore-mentioned organization which shows—see exhibit No. 9—the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a sponsor of the organization.

The Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War was the body which launched the American Peace Mobilization, an organization which the Interdepartmental Committee found to be subversive.

Prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia in June 1941 the American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House for some weeks. The picketers carried placards which denounced the war as an imperialist war and the President as a war-mongering tool of Wall Street. When the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union, the Communist Party line changed abruptly and the war received its enthusiastic approval. The American Peace Mobilization promptly disbanded and became the American Peoples Mobilization with a new line which followed precisely the line of the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT 8

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

Chairman: Rev. John B. Thompson, *Chairman, Southern Conference on Human Welfare.*

Treasurer: Miss Pearl M. Hart, *Vice-Chairman, American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.*

Executive Secretary: Miss Marian Briggs.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY KEEPING OUT OF WAR,
CHICAGO, ILL., August 10, 1940.

DEAR BROTHER: *Each day the danger of America's involvement in war becomes more immediate. Yet we all know that the American people do not want war.*

On August 31, September 1st and 2nd, more than 20,000 delegates from all walks of life—labor, church, farm, youth, women, will express this demand in an Emergency Peace Mobilization, to be held in Chicago over that Labor Day week end. Prominent speakers such as Senator Nye, Senator Clark, Paul Robeson, Dr. Townsend, and many others will participate, indicating the breadth and sweep of this movement.

In this mobilization, the American people will insist that the best defense is to keep out of war. They will express their determination to protect labor standards, social welfare, civil liberties, and their opposition to any attempt at regimentation through conscription.

Surely we in the railroad industry know from bitter experience what attacks are made during wartime on labor's hard won standards, its right to organize. We believe the labor movement has a great stake in the success of this Mobilization, which represents above all the working people of this country.

This movement has no bankers or munitions manufacturers behind it. Its money must come from those of us who want to keep America out of war. As representative of railway labor, we appeal to you to do what you can. No matter how small send us your contribution. It will help mobilize America for peace.

M. GOTTFRIED,

Vice Pres., Union Assn. Retired R. R. Employees.

J. R. QUAID,

Ch. Engr., Lodge 403, Brotherhood of Loco. Engrs.

JOHN L. FELDKERCHNER,

Secy. Lodge #191, Brotherhood of R. R. Trainmen.

T. E. CAREY,

Asst. Ch. Conductor, Order of R. R. Conductors, Div. #48.

EXHIBIT No. 9

SPONSORS

Rev. George A. Ackerly, Washington, D. C.

Josephine Truslow Adams.

Oscar M. Adams, Director, Wesley Foundation of Wisconsin.

Meyer Adelman, Regional Director, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Milwaukee.

Rev. William H. Ahlerson, First Methodist Church, Bridgeport, Conn.

Rev. Gross W. Alexander, Lyndhurst, N. J.

Rabbi Michael Alper, New York, N. Y.

Oscar Ameringer, editor, the American Guardian, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Rev. William C. Anderson, Bremen, Ind.

Rev. J. Carlton Babbs, Reynoldsburg, Ohio.

Prof. Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School, editor, Journal of Religious Education.

Dr. Frank E. Baker, President, Milwaukee State Teachers' College.

Louis Baratz, Greater Flint Industrial Union Council, Flint, Mich.

Katherine H. Barbour, Y. W. O. A.

Harry Elmer Barnes.

Jean Bellefleur, Sec'y, Lowell, Mass. Industrial Union Council.

Mrs. Victor L. Berger.

Lewis Allen Berne, President, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

Prof. Franz Boas, Chairman, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Rev. Theodore Bobolin, Hempstead, L. I.

E. C. De Brule, President, Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L.

Sponsor Walter Burke, President, Wisconsin Industrial Union Council.

H. S. Bruce, Editor, Farmers' Union News of Montana.

Helen M. Carrington, National Industrial Council, Y. W. O. A.

Thomas E. Casey, Sec., Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation.

Harold Christoffel, President, Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council.

Rabbi Jed Cohen, Los Angeles, California.

Philip M. Connelly, Los Angeles, Ind. Union Council.

Rev. R. N. Comfort, Dean of the School of Religion, Norman, Oklahoma.

Dr. Abraham Conbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime Union.

Margery Dallet, Sec., Louisiana Farmers Union.

Dr. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

SPONSORS—continued

- Jerome Davis.
 Eugene V. Dennett, Sec'y, Wash. State Ind. Union Council.
 Hon. Charles O. Digges, State Senator, Michigan.
 Rev. Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, Executive Secretary, League of Young Southerners.
 Charles Dornale, Miami, Florida.
 Theodore Dreiser.
 J. T. Dudley, Sec'y Treas., Sacramento, Calif., Industrial Union Council.
 Naomi Ellison, Chairman, National Industrial Assembly, YWCA.
 Julius Emstak, Secretary-Treasurer, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.
 Goldie F. Ervin, Phila. Council, National Negro Congress.
 Rev. Raymond H. Ewing, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Arthur Huff Fauset.
 Vardis Fisher.
 Abram Flaxer, President, State, County and Municipal Workers of America.
 Ishmael Flory, Chicago Council, National Negro Congress.
 Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Executive Director, Unitarian Youth Commission.
 Michael Galazan, Executive Director, Jewish Vocational Service, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Joseph F. Gelders, Birmingham, Alabama.
 C. Q. Gilson, YMCA, New York.
 Leonard Goldsmith, Exec. Sec'y, New Jersey Industrial Union Council.
 Quentin P. Gore, Editor, the Southern News Almanac.
 Hon. Michael Gratt, Member of the Board of Aldermen, Bridgeport, Conn.
 Gerald Harris, Alabama Farmers' Union.
 Dr. Marian Hathaway, Executive Secretary, American Association of Schools of Social Work.
 Mrs. Alvina Hayman, Grantsburg Farmers Union, Wisconsin.
 Gordon M. Hey, Wisconsin State Employees Assn., A. F. L.
 Rev. Robert B. Hoagland, Fort Wayne, Ind.
 Michael Howard, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America.
 Elliott Jacques, Pres., National Association of Medical Students.
 Mrs. Falth Jefferson Jones, Hull House, Chicago, Illinois.
 Mrs. O. S. Jones, Exec. Sec'y., Industrial Union Council, Lansing, Michigan.
 Regis Kennedy, President, Student Board, Columbia University.
 Rockwell Kent.
 Mabel Houk King, Executive Secretary, Far Eastern Student Service Fund.
 Flemmie K. Kittrell, Dean of Women, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.
 John V. Klabouch, Sec., Associated Czech Societies, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Rev. Owen A. Knox, Chairman, National Civil Rights Conference.
 Harry Koger, President, Cotton States Council, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America.
 Mrs. Mary O. Kryszak, Pres., Polish Women's Alliance, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Alfred O. Larko, Buffalo Union Leader, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Professor Oliver Larkin, Smith College.
 Reverend John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn, New York.
 Howard Lee, Executive Secretary, Southern Conference on Human Welfare.
 F. R. Lenor, Farmers' Union, Ohio.
 Kenneth Leslie, Editor, The Protestant Digest.
 Thelma Line, Y. W. O. A., Baltimore, Maryland.
 Dr. Meta Loeberl, Editor, The Chicago Defender.
 Robert Morse Lovett.
 Rev. Eugene W. Lyman, Union Theological Seminary.
 Honorable Vito Marcantonio, Member of Congress.
 Elmer Marty, Secretary Waukegan Trades and Labor Council, A. F. of L., Wisconsin.
 Clifford T. McAvoy, Deputy Welfare Commissioner, New York, N. Y.
 B. J. McCarty, Secretary-Treasurer, International Woodworkers of America.
 Rev. James W. McKnight, Clinton, Ill.
 Jack McMichael, Chairman, American Youth Congress.
 Rev. James L. McMillan.
 Mat Meehan, Sec'y, Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehouse Men's Union.
 Rev. O. L. Merritt, Simpson Methodist Church, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Mrs. Albert Miller, Pres., Associated Farm Women of Kansas.
 Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, President, Cooperative School for Teachers.
 J. Carrell Morris, President, Christian Youth Council of North America.
 Rev. James K. Morre, Hackensack, N. J.
 George Murphy, Jr., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
 George Nelson, President, Wisconsin Farmers Equity Union.
 Edward Nestling, Chairman, Peace Commission, National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 Rev. Everett Palmer, Highland Park, New Jersey.
 Mrs. Eunice Peterson, California State Grange.
 Harriet Pickens, National Business and Professional Council, YWCA.
 Harper Potlison, Executive Secretary, United Student Peace Committee.
 Dr. D. W. Prall, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University.
 Michael Quill, President, Transport Workers Union of America.
 Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University.
 Rev. James Robinson, President, Youth Section, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
 Reid Robinson, President, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.
 George Beldes, Author.
 Dr. Ferdinand Schervill, Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago.
 Charles Schwieso, Jr., Secretary, Rocky Mountain Region, Student Christian Movement.
 Jessica Scott, Ashland Place YWCA, Brooklyn.
 Rev. Burton Sheppard, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
 Rev. H. M. Smith, Chicago Baptist Institute.
 Mason Smith, Waco Messenger, Waco, Texas.
 Rev. William B. Spofford, Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy.
 A. E. Stevenson, Secretary, Cleveland Industrial Union Council.
 William L. Strauss, Department of Government, University of Texas.
 Edward E. Strong, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Dr. D. J. Strulck, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 Katherine Terrill, Council for Social Action of the Christian & Congregational Church.
 Rev. John B. Thompson, Norman, Oklahoma.
 Jim Tully, Author.
 Oswald Garrison Villard, Thomaston, Connecticut.
 Eda Lou Walton, New York University.
 T. D. Wangemann, President, Parent Teachers Assn., West Allis, Wisconsin.
 Morris Watson, American Newspaper Guild.
 Rev. Horace White, Detroit, Michigan.
 Prof. Dorey A. Wilkerson, Howard University.
 Rev. Claude C. Williams, Little Rock, Arkansas.
 Sidney Williams, Urban League, St. Louis, Mo.
 Rev. Edwin H. Wilson, Chicago, Illinois.
 Hugh Wilson, Sec'y, Sullivan County Industrial Union Council.
 Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood.
 June Wooster, Industrial Secretary, YWCA, Evans-ton, Ill.
 Dr. Max Yergan, Chairman, National Negro Congress.
 Winifred Wygal.

These individuals signed in purely personal capacities. Their organizations are listed for identification only.

AND NINTH

That said Lovett was a sponsor of the Communist-controlled American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Exhibit No. 10 is a photostat of a letterhead which shows the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a sponsor of the aforementioned organization.

The Dies committee has found that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 10

SPONSORS

Louis Adamie
Dr. Janet Rankin Alken
Sherwood Anderson
Roger Baldwin
Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes
George Gordon Battle
Lewis Alan Burke
Mary McLeod Bethune
Rabbi Philip Bernstein
Alice Stone Blackwell
Dr. Frans Boas
Van Wyck Brooks
Heywood Brown
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Hon. Emanuel Celler
Prof. Edward P. Cheyney
Sarah Cleghorn
Edward Corsi
Howard Costigan
Prof. George S. Counts
Dr. Leonard Covello
Jerome Davis
Prof. John Dewey
Carl Van Doren
John Dos Passos
Prof. Dorothy Douglas
Dr. Hazel R. Douglas
Prof. Leslie C. Dunn
Prof. Mildred Fairchild
Dr. Ernest Felce
Waldo Frank
Donald S. Friele

Dr. Frank P. Graham
Ernest Hemingway
Donald Henderson
Sidney Hillman
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Charles H. Houston
Fannie Hurst
Rev. William Lloyd Innes
Ines Haynes Irwin
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Rabbi Edward L. Israel
Prof. Charles S. Johnson
Rockwell Kent
Prof. William H. Kilpatrick
Carol King
Prof. Otto Klineberg
Prof. Oliver W. Larkin
Prof. Max Lerner
Dr. William Elwyn Leonard
Hon. John Leshinski
Dr. Edward C. Lindeman
Robert Morris Lovett
Rev. Sidney Lovett
Dr. Henry N. MacCracken
Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean
Paul Manahip
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Carey McWilliams
Dr. Paul Monroe
Dr. William Allan Neilson

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Judge Patrick H. O'Brien
Hon. Caroline O'Day
Hon. Culbert L. Olson
O. M. Orton
William Pickens
Ernest B. Price
Prof. Max Radin
Dr. Walter Rautenstrauch
Rev. Herman F. Relais
Charles Edward Russell
Monsignor John A. Ryan
Rose Schneiderman
Adelaide Schulkind
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman
Prof. Vida D. Scudder
George Seides
Dr. Guy Emery Shipley
Vilhelmur Stefansson
Prof. Bernhard J. Stern
Donald Ogden Stewart
Maxwell S. Stewart
Prof. Harold C. Urey
Oswald Garrison Villard
Dr. J. Raymond Walsh
James Waterman Wise
L. Hollingsworth Wood
Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Dr. Max Yergan
Charles S. Zimmerman

ERNEST HEMINGWAY,
DR. WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON,
Co-Chairmen, Committee of Sponsors.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Hotel Annapolis, Eleventh and H Streets, NW.

Washington, D. C., March 2 and 3, 1940

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

Pre-Conference Headquarters: Suite 1505—79 Fifth Avenue, New York City,
ALgonquin 4-2334

DEAR FRIENDS: We are enclosing the Program and Call for the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which is to be held at the Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., on March 2 and 3.

The Hon. Marshall E. Dimock, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Archibald MacLish, will be among the speakers to address this important Conference. We urge that your organization consider immediately the possibility of your being represented at this Conference by a delegate or observer.

There is no registration fee for delegates or observers. Simply fill out the form provided with the Call and return it to this office. If your union cannot send a representative, we urge that you endorse this Conference and send a contribution to help us make it a success.

If you would care to reserve a room at the Hotel Annapolis for your representative, please let us know as soon as possible. A room for one is \$3.50 for one night, and a room for two is \$4.50 for one night. We are arranging also for representatives from New York City to go to Washington in a group by train at a special fare of \$6.75 each for the round trip.

We hope that you will let us know as to your decision in this matter at your earliest convenient opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST HEMINGWAY,
Co-Chairman, Committee of 100 Sponsors.

AND TENTH

That said Lovett did join with a group of well-known Communists and Communist fellow travelers in issuing an open letter in praise of the Soviet Union.

Exhibits Nos. 11-12 are photostatic copies of the aforementioned open letter which shows (see exhibit No. 12) the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a signer of this document.

EXHIBIT No. 11

AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN LIBERALS

The Open Letter reprinted below speaks for itself. Its specific and immediate purpose was, of course, to show those liberals who had joined the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky the implications and effects of their association. But in addition I am sure that the signatories also wished to take the opportunity of going on record as re-affirming their faith in the Soviet Union, their confidence in the Soviet Government, and their friendship for the Soviet people.

These are critical times. In Spain an international war, with the Fascists as the aggressors, is being openly waged. In the rest of Europe and in large sections of Asia there exists a state of near-war with all sorts of underground plottings and conspiracies as the order of the day. Again, the Fascist and the semi-Fascist governments are the aggressors. The chief aim of their schemes is the smashing of the Soviet Union, where for the first time in history a planned Socialist society has been established. The stakes are indeed high. And the enemies of Soviet Russia will literally stop at nothing to achieve their ends.

Thus, not since its earliest years has the U. S. S. R. so needed the support of its friends wheresoever they may be. And it was to help rally all genuine friends of the Soviet Union in America that this Open Letter was written.

CORLISS LAMONT.

We wish to address ourselves to liberals who may be approached by the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, an organization which, we believe, is attempting to enlist their support for partisan political purposes under the guise of defense of certain principles of civil liberties. Especially do we address those members of the committee whose names have been identified in the minds of the American public with truly liberal and progressive ideas, and who have always been counted among those who believe that the Soviet Union should be permitted to work out its problems without interference from the outside world. We hold it of great importance that such members should make their position clear at the present time.

A number of persons joined the Trotsky defense committee for the purpose of defending the right of asylum for Trotsky and to provide him with "the fullest opportunity to state his case." Since Trotsky is now safely domiciled in Mexico, the right of asylum is no longer an issue. The Mexican Government and the American press have certainly allowed him full freedom of expression in his own defense.

Under these circumstances it is proper to inquire into the nature of the further activities of the committee, since we believe it likely that these were not endorsed by its liberal members. Its publications have included not only violent attacks on the Moscow trials, but bitter denunciations of the Soviet Government. Speakers at meetings sponsored by the committee have not merely defended Trotsky and his theories, but have gone so far in their attacks on the Soviet regime as to advocate armed uprising. One of the announced purposes of the committee is the organization of "a complete and impartial investigation of the

Moscow trials." The thirty-three defendants in the trials under attack all confessed fully the crimes of high treason of which they were convicted. Impartial observers and newspaper correspondents present at the trials have reported that the trials were properly conducted and the accused fairly and judicially treated. The committee has offered no shred of evidence to the contrary. The demand for an investigation of trials carried on under the legally constituted judicial system of the Soviet Government can only be interpreted as political intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union with hostile intent.

We note that a member of the committee, Mr. Mauritz Hallgren, has publicly announced his withdrawal because of his conviction that the committee "has become an instrument of the Trotskyists for political intervention against the Soviet Union." Mr. Hallgren says further:

"Perhaps the liberal members are not aware of the real nature of the committee. But that cannot be true of the political members, of the Trotskyists and others, who have but one purpose and that is to use the committee as a springboard for new attacks on the Soviet Union." Other members of the committee have withdrawn for similar reasons.

We believe that it is imperative, in the interest of separating liberal ideas from active hostility against the Soviet Union, that liberal members of the committee, who presumably have no hostile intent against that nation but whose names are being used to further these hostile purposes, should clarify their position on the following questions:

1. Did you join the committee out of interest in Trotskyism or wholly in defense of the right of asylum and free speech? If the latter is true, do not the present activities of the committee indicate that the alignment of liberals with enemies of the Soviet Union and defenders of the political principles of Trotsky can only result in confusion and the distortion of true liberalism?

2. Are you willing to ally yourselves, even incidentally, with the internal political movement which has opposed the progressive movement undertaken by the Soviet Union under the five-year plan and the Soviet foreign policy of peace and international understanding and other achievements which have commanded the respect of liberals throughout the world?

3. In uniting with avowed Trotskyists in this committee have you taken account of the effect of its activities in lending support to the fascist forces which are attacking democracy in Spain and throughout the world? Do you not agree with us that there is also a genuine menace to real democracy in the fact that the campaign to defend Trotsky is being supported by the reactionary press and by the very elements which attack the labor movement and freedom of speech in this country?

4. Should not a country recognized as engaged in improving conditions for all its people, whether or not one agrees with all the means whereby this is brought about, be permitted to decide for itself what measures of protection are necessary against treasonable plots to assassinate and overthrow its leadership and involve it in war with foreign powers?

We ask you to clarify these points not merely because we believe that the Soviet Union needs the support of liberals at this moment when the forces of fascism, led by Hitler, threaten to engulf Europe. We believe that it is important for the progressive forces in this country that you make your position clear. The reactionary sections of the press and public have been precisely the ones to seize most eagerly on the anti-Soviet attacks of Trotsky and his followers to further their own aims. We feel sure that you do not wish to be counted an ally of these forces.

EXHIBIT No. 12

Signed by:

John C. Ackloy, <i>College of the City of New York.</i>	Humphrey Cobb, <i>author.</i>
Newton Arvin, <i>Professor of English, Smith College.</i>	Gifford Cochran, <i>attorney.</i>
Haywood Brown, <i>President of the American Newspaper Guild.</i>	Malcolm Cowley, <i>Literary Editor, "The New Republic."</i>
Edwin Berry Burgum, <i>Professor of English, New York University.</i>	Addison T. Cutler, <i>Department of Economics, Columbia University.</i>
Allan Campbell, <i>actor.</i>	Jerome Davis, <i>Yale University Divinity School.</i>
Haakon Chevallier, <i>Professor of French, University of California.</i>	Dorothy Douglas, <i>Professor of Economics, Smith College.</i>
Ethel Clyde.	Theodore Dreiser, <i>novelist.</i>
	Mary Dublin, <i>Sarah Lawrence College.</i>

- Guy Endore, author.
 Mildred Fairchild, *Professor of Economics, Bryn Mawr College.*
 Louis Fischer, author and foreign correspondent of "The Nation."
 Robert Geissner, author and poet.
 B. Z. Goldberg, columnist, *Jewish Day.*
 Alphonse Goldschmidt, *Director Social Economic Laboratory.*
 Wyllysline Goodsell, *Professor of Education, Columbia University (Retired 1936).*
 Lillian Hellman, *dramatist and author.*
 Granville Hicks, *literary critic.*
 Arthur Kallet, *Technical Director, Consumers' Union, author "100,000 Guinea Pigs."*
 Vladimir Kazakovitch, *economist, Columbia University.*
 Rockwell Kent, *artist.*
 Paul Kern, *New York Civil Service Commission.*
 Dr. John A. Kingsbury, *Director National Tuberculosis Ass'n.*
 Mary Van Kleeck, *Director of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation.*
 Dr. Corliss Lamont, *author and lecturer.*
 Ring Lardner, Jr., *author.*
 Max Lerner, *Editor, "The Nation."*
 Robert Morris Lovett, *Editor, "The New Republic."*
 Katherine Lumpkin, *economist, Smith College.*
 Robert S. Lynd, *Columbia University, author of "Middletown."*
 William Malisoff, *Editor, "Philosophy of Science."*
 William P. Mangold, *Contributing Editor, "The New Republic."*
 Anita Marburg, *Sarah Lawrence College.*
 Elisabeth Dublin Marshall.
 George Marshall, *writer and research worker.*
 Clifford T. McAvoy, *C. C. N. Y.*
 John McAlpin Millen.
 Lewis Milestone, *motion picture director.*
 V. J. McGill, *Professor of Philosophy, Hunter College.*
 Carey McWilliams, *writer.*
 Herbert A. Miller, *Professor of Economics, Bryn Mawr College.*
 Loren Miller, *author.*
 Edwin Mims, Jr., *Harvard University.*
 M. Y. Munson, *Department of History, Columbia University.*
 Dudley Nicholls, *author.*
 Samuel Ornitz, *author.*
 Dorothy Parker, *writer.*
 Walter N. Polakov, *engineer and author.*
 D. W. Prall, *Professor of Aesthetics, Harvard University.*
 Samson Raphaelson, *dramatist.*
 Col. Raymond Robins, *former head of American Red Cross in Russia.*
 Henry Roth, *novelist.*
 Margaret Schlauch, *Professor of Linguistics, New York University.*
 William Seagle, *legal expert and author.*
 Howard Selsam, *Professor of Philosophy, Brooklyn College.*
 Arnold Shukutoff, *C. C. N. Y.*
 Dr. Henry F. Sigerist, *John Hopkins University.*
 Irina Skariatina, *author.*
 Bernard Smith, *Literary Editor, Alfred A. Knopf.*
 Dr. Tredwell Smith, *educator.*
 Robert K. Spear, *New York University.*
 Rev. William B. Spofford, *Executive Secretary of Church League for Industrial Democracy.*
 Viola Brothers Shore, *scenarist.*
 Tess Slesinger, *novelist.*
 Bernhard J. Stern, *Columbia University.*
 Donald Ogdon Stewart, *author and actor.*
 Maxwell Stewart, *Editor, "The Nation."*
 Anna Louise Strong, *author and foreign correspondent.*
 Paul M. Sweezy, *Instructor of Economics, Harvard University.*
 Lillian D. Wald, *leading social worker.*
 Mark Waldman, *C. C. N. Y.*
 Eda Lou Walton, *poet and critic.*
 Lynd Ward, *artist.*
 Clara Weatherwax, *novelist.*
 Max Weber, *painter.*
 Louis Welser, *Mathematician, Hunter College.*
 Nathaniel West, *writer.*
 David McElvy White.
 James Waterman Wise, *editor and author.*
 Art Young, *artist.*
 William Zorach, *artist.*
 Leane Zugsmith, *author.*

AND ELEVENTH

That said Robert Morris Lovett did serve as a member of the national committee for the Student Congress Against War, an organization which was controlled by the Communists and which was avowedly linked with the World Congress Against War which was set up by Communist International.

Exhibit No. 13 is a photostatic copy of the official program of the Student Congress Against War, on the last page of which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a member of the national committee for the organization.

The World Congress Against War, held in Amsterdam in August 1932, was not only the parent body of this Student Congress Against War but also of the American League for Peace and Democracy which the Attorney General, the Dies committee, and the inter-departmental committee have all held to be a Communist front.

EXHIBIT No. 13

FIGHT WAR!

December 28-29, 1932

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

EXHIBIT No 14

STUDENTS, GIVE US YOUR ANSWER!

WHAT WILL YOU BE DOING IN THE NEXT WAR? Will you, too, serve as a lover in the destructive war machine?

IF YOU ARE A STUDENT IN THE R. O. T. C., YOU CANNOT IGNORE THIS QUESTION. Because the War Department is now preparing you for the dying and killing of the next war. You cannot point to the standing army and say, "they will bear the burden—the problem of war is theirs." No. Plans have already been made that the chief role in war be played by you, the student of R. O. T. C. In the Herald-Tribune of February 16, 1930, is outlined the New Mobilization Plan which enables the U. S. to muster an army of 4,000,000 men in 10 months. Reserve officers will constitute the foundation of this army. And there is no mistaking the source from which they will be drawn. "The reserve officers of the future will come from the R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C." The Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1929 tells us: "This important element of our national defense continues to supply the life blood for the Organized Reserves, furnishing, as it does, approximately 5,000 young officers each year." YOU WILL FIGHT THE WAR. THE DANGER OF WAR IS YOUR DANGER. You cannot ignore it.

STUDENTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, your part in a war was clearly revealed in the events of 1917. Scientists and engineers then became adjuncts of the army and figured out methods for bigger and better destruction. Massachusetts Institute of Technology led with the establishment of a Chemical Warfare unit and with instruction in the use of poison gas. Will those events repeat themselves? You who seek to devote your lives to the conquest of nature, will you become tools for the conquest of men? You, too, cannot ignore the question.

STUDENTS OF THE HUMANITIES, concerned with the progress of human thought and behavior: In 1917 all your aims were destroyed and your achievements defiled. The country was swept by a wave of hysteria deliberately provoked by the imperialists and their press. Culture that was not stifled under the weight of military propaganda appeared in hideous caricature as a part of that propaganda. Men trusted as intellectual leaders of the nation betrayed that trust. Even the schools became instruments of incitement to hatred and war, manipulated by the Committee on Public Information. From the Annual Report of the Educational Director of the National Security League (August 1917-18) we learn that an appeal was sent asking colleges and universities to release professors on full salary for the work of the Campaign of Patriotism through Education. In response to the invitation, the presidents of ten universities, beginning with Columbia, Harvard, Williams, Johns Hopkins, also Michigan, Princeton, Colorado, and Stanford, at once intimated a willingness to release the best qualified professors who could be spared from their academic work. These representatives were sent into various sections of the country with the understanding that they should "push propaganda for interpreting the meaning of the war in every possible way, in co-operation with public officials, educators, newspapers, churches, universities, granges, labor organizations, and other available agencies." Can you permit a recurrence of these shameful acts of intellectual prostitution? How will you safeguard your progressive aims and achievements? Where will you stand when a new war threatens to engulf us all? The question confronts you as well as those who will handle the guns of the next war.

THE QUESTION IS OF IMPORTANCE TO ALL STUDENTS IN EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY; WE CANNOT IGNORE IT.

But some of you may ask, "why bring that up now? Will not the peace pacts prevent them?" General Hanson E. Ely, Cominadant of the 2nd Corps Area, has given the answer: "We all know there will be a next war, despite talk of peace pacts * * *. We can get around those disarmament pacts."

Even now there are wars raging on both sides of the Pacific. In Manchuria, Japanese soldiers are fighting Chinese peasants, and are provoking Soviet Russia on the Siberian border. Late September headlines in the New York Sun announced: "Japan Speeds Plans For War—Foreign Military Attaches Tell of Reports—Some Scent Soviet Clash—Army and Navy Supplies Being Bought in America." In South America, students and workers are killing one another to decide whether British or American companies shall control the oil deposits of the Chaco region. The United States is involved in both disputes and has its entire navy in the Pacific Ocean, ready for action. THE DANGER OF WAR IS IMMEDIATE, AND THREATENS EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD!

OUR QUESTION THEREFORE REQUIRES AN ANSWER NOW! All students should join in that answer at THE STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR. Immediate steps must be taken to formulate a program of effective opposition to war.

The Student Congress Against War will be held at the University of Chicago during the last week of December. Send delegates from your campus clubs, your publications, and your fraternities. The Congress will unite students of every race, creed, and political inclination in an effective struggle against war.

ALL EYES ON CHICAGO!

PROGRAM

ALL SESSIONS AT MANDELL HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Tuesday, December 27, 1 p. m. to 10 p. m. —Registration and arrangements.

Wednesday, December 28, 9:30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Introductory remarks by Temporary Chairman Edmund Stevens, Chairman of the National Committee.

Keynote address—Joseph Cohen, student delegate to the World Congress Against War at Amsterdam.

Greetings.

Elections, Presiding Committee, Resolutions Committee, Tellers Committee, Credentials Committee.

SYMPOSIUM: "IMPERIALISM AND WAR"

Speakers: Upton Close, Author and Lecturer on Far Eastern Affairs; Joseph Freeman, Author of "The Soviet Worker," coauthor of "Dollar Diplomacy"; Earl Browder, Secretary of Communist Party, U. S. A.

2:30 P. M. TO 5:30 P. M. —SYMPOSIUM: "ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS"

Speakers: J. B. Matthews, Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Jane Addams, Winner of Nobel Prize, 1932; Scott Nearing, Lecturer, Former Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania. Discussion by Delegates.

7:30 P. M. TO 10:30 P. M. —STUDY GROUPS

Group I: Militarism in the Universities; Leaders: J. B. Matthews, Mao Gordon.

Group II: Students and Workers Opposition to War; Leaders: Earl Browder, Carl Gelser.

Group III: Nationalism and War; Leaders: Scott Nearing, Nathaniel Weyl.

Group IV: Imperialism and the Revolt of Colonial Peoples; Leaders: Upton Close, Joseph Freeman.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m. —How Shall Students Fight War? Preliminary Remarks, Donald Henderson; Discussion by Delegates.

2:30 p. m. to 5:30 p. m. —Report of Resolutions Committee. Discussion by Delegates.

7:00 p. m. to 9:00 p. m. —Final Adoption of Resolutions. Permanent Organization.

9:30 p. m. —Entertainment.

This call is issued by a joint committee of students, faculty members and intellectuals. It is addressed to all those students who, sincere in their opposition of war, wish to find a common ground for effective action.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

Sherwood Anderson	Herman J. Muller
Henri Barbusse	Scott Nearing
Eleanor Copenhaver	Margaret Schlauch
George S. Counts	Frederick L. Schumann
Leo Gallagher	Thomas Woody
Donald Henderson	Robert Mors Lovett
H. W. Longfellow Dana	Henry Forblado, <i>Commonwealth College, Ark.</i>
Corliss Lamont	Carl Golsner, <i>Fenn College, Ohio</i>
Edmund Stevens, <i>Chairman, Columbia University, N. Y.</i>	Edward Hartshorne, Jr., <i>Harvard Univ., Mass.</i>
Dora Zucker, <i>Secretary, College of the City of New York</i>	Richard Lake, <i>State University, Mont.</i>
Margaret Bailey, <i>Treasurer, New York University</i>	George Perasich, <i>University of California</i>
Gregory Hardacko, <i>Syracuse University, N. Y.</i>	Eugene Schaffarman, <i>University of Michigan</i>
Jack Owen, <i>University of Chicago.</i>	Norman Spitzer, <i>Cornell University, N. Y.</i>
Ann Chess, <i>Smith College, Mass.</i>	Nathaniel Woyl, <i>Columbia University</i>
Joseph Cohen, <i>Brooklyn College, N. Y.</i>	Ira Latimer, <i>Le Moyne College, Memphis, Tenn.</i>
Edwin L. Diggs, <i>Lambuth College, Tenn.</i>	
J. B. Matthews	

Any campus club or organization may elect delegates to the congress on the basis of one delegate for every fifteen members.

Any group of fifteen students may elect a delegate.

Delegates will require credentials. Requests for credentials, accompanied by the names of the delegates and the students endorsing them, should be sent to the National Committee.

On their arrival for the congress delegates should go directly to Mandel Hall, University of Chicago and register.

Arrangements are being made to house the delegates on or near the campus. Funds for the sending of delegates should be raised by securing of student and faculty support.

Registration fee: Fifty cents.

[perforating rule]

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR,
P. O. Box 327, Grand Central Annex, New York City, N. Y.

I am interested in the Student Congress Against War and should like to co-operate with you.

Name
Address

AND TWELFTH

That said Lovett did act as a sponsor of the Communist front which was known as the Conference on Constitutional Liberties at which conference the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was launched.

Exhibits Nos. 14-18 are reproductions of the official program of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America. On exhibit No. 18, the name of Robert Mors Lovett appears as a sponsor of the afore-mentioned conference.

Without exception, the other sponsors whose names appear on exhibit No. 18 had records of Communist Party fellow travelers.

The interdepartmental committee and the Dies committee have both found that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is a Communist subversive organization.

EXHIBITS Nos. 14-18

CALL TO A CONFERENCE ON CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA, JUNE 7, 8, AND 9

WASHINGTON, D. C., NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AUDITORIUM, FOURTEENTH AND F STREETS NW.

The long dreaded nightmare of total war has become the terrible reality of Europe today. Its shadow falls across our own peaceful land. Its horror arouses among our people the fears that too easily become panic, mutual suspicion, and persecution. To all the enemies of American freedom, war offers the excuse for its destruction.

The rights of labor, the rights of political and national minorities, the rights of citizens are under attack. The attack is gathering momentum. With alarming speed it moves toward abrogation of the Bill of Rights and the annulment of all our Constitutional guarantees of liberty.

Each day's events show more clearly the trend and the pattern. Unless the words and the acts of thinking people call a halt, our democracy will be annihilated.

The time is short. Action now is imperative. Responding to the challenge of this crisis, a group of people from the ranks of labor and the adherents of American democracy is meeting in Washington to plan and put in motion a program to preserve our traditional way of life.

We urge your attendance at this meeting, your aid, and your participation. Come to help us as an individual, as a member of your organization, as an American who wants to keep America free.

Program, Friday, June 7

Registration, 7:30 p. m.

Rights of Citizenship, 8:15 p. m.

*Chairman—Professor Robert K. Speer, New York University.**Address of Welcome—Merle D. Vincent, Temporary Chairman, National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America.**Speakers:**Rev. Owen A. Knox, President, Civil Rights Federation of Michigan—The Detroit Raids.**Pearl M. Hart, Chairman, Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild—War Hyateria Causes Break-down of Law and Order in Illinois.**Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, Ill.—Rights of the Negro.**Harold J. Pritchett, President, International Wood Workers of America—Terror in Gray's Harbor.**James Dombrowski, Member, Southern Conference for Human Welfare—The Poll Tax.*

Registration fee—\$1.00. Headquarters: 335 Southern Building; Phone: NA 7721

Saturday, June 8

Registration, 9:30 a. m.

Chairman—Reverend Albert T. Mollegon, Professor Christian Ethics, Virginia Theological Seminary.

Rights of Minority Groups, 9:30-10:30 a. m.

*Speakers:**Max Yergan, President, National Negro Congress.**Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Member, National Committee, Communist Party.**Professor O. Fayette Taylor, Member, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.*

Rights of Alien and Foreign-Born, 10:30-12:00 noon.

*Speakers:**Carol McWilliams, Chairman, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.**Alfred K. Stern, Chairman, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.**Josephine Truslow Adams, Vice President, Philadelphia Chapter, Descendants of the American Revolution.**John A. Lapp, Chairman, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.**Hope Stevens, Secretary, Caribbean Union.*

Saturday, June 8

Rights of Labor, 2:00-4:30 p. m.

Chairman—Morris Watson, *Vice President, American Newspaper Guild.**Speakers:*Honorable Frank M. Fries, *Congressman from Illinois.*Joseph Curran, *President, National Maritime Union.*Frances Williams, *Administrative Secretary, American Youth Congress.*John P. Davis, *Secretary, National Negro Congress.*Elmer Benson, *Former Governor of Minnesota.*

Sunday, June 9

Committee Meetings, 10:00-12:00 noon.

The following committees will meet to prepare reports and recommendations to the conference. Delegates are invited to attend the meetings in which they are interested. Rights of Citizenship. Rights of Labor. Rights of Minority Groups. Rights of the Alien and Foreign-Born.

Luncheon—12:45 p. m., National Press Club Auditorium. *Speaker, Edwin S. Smith, Member, National Labor Relations Board—Civil Rights and National Defense.*

Afternoon Session, 2:30 p. m. Resolutions. Program of Action.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

Prof. Frans Boas, *New York City.*
 Rev. Owen A. Knox, *Detroit, Mich.*
 Elmer Benson, *Appleton, Wis.*
 Herbert Biberman, *Hollywood, Calif.*
 Prof. Herman E. Nixon, *Columbia, Mo.*
 Carey McWilliams, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Max Yergan, *New York City.*
 Howard P. Costigan, *Seattle, Wash.*

George Marshall, *New York City.*
 Robert MacGregor, *Portland, Oreg.*
 Prof. Ned H. Dearborn, *New York City.*
 Tom Mooney, *San Francisco, Calif.*
 Jack McMichael, *New York City.*
 Prof. Robert K. Speer, *New York City.*
 Merle D. Vincent, *Temporary Chairman, Washington, D. C.*

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 Mary Dublin, *New York, N. Y.*
 James R. Dumpson, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Robert W. Dunn, *New York, N. Y.*
 Gladys T. Edwards, *Jamestown, N. Dak.*
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 Mitchell Franklin, *New York, N. Y.*
 Edward Fuhlbruegge, *Newark, N. J.*
 Arthur J. Goldberg, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Rabbi David Graubart, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Joseph S. Gelders, *Washington, D. C.*
 Dr. Harry J. Greene, *Philadelphia Pa.*
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 Dashiell Hammett, *Pleasantville, N. Y.*
 Pearl M. Hart, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Dean William H. Hastie, *Washington, D. C.*

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 Florence H. Luscomb, Brookline, Mass.
 Prof. Robert B. Lynd, New York, N. Y.
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 Louis F. McCabe, Philadelphia, Pa.
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 Prof. William M. Malisoff, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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 Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Congressman from New York
 Prof. Thornton Merriam, Evanston, Ill.
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 Lewis Merrill, New York, N. Y.
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 Hon. Jerry O'Connell, Hamilton, Mont.
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 Mrs. Lucy E. Parsons, Chicago, Ill.
 William L. Patterson, Chicago, Ill.
 Elliot Paul, New York, N. Y.
 Prof. W. Paustian, Columbia, Mo.
 Prof. D. W. Prall, Cambridge, Mass.
 Harold J. Pritchett, Seattle, Wash.
 Michael Quill, New York City.
 Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, New York, N. Y.
 Bertha C. Reynolds, Long Island City, N. Y.
 Rold Robinson, Denver, Colo.
 William E. Rodrigues, Chicago, Ill.
 Walker S. Royce, New York City.
 George Selden, Ridgefield, Conn.
 Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Chicago, Ill.
 Herman Shumlin, New York, N. Y.
 Edwin S. Smith, Washington, D. C.
 Roy W. B. Spafford, New York, N. Y.
 Alfred K. Stern, New York, N. Y.
 Donald Ogden Stewart, Carmel, Calif.
 F. P. Stone, New York, N. Y.
 Rev. Alfred W. Swan, Madison, Wis.
 Prof. C. Fayette Taylor, Cambridge, Mass.
 Channing H. Tobias, New York, N. Y.
 Rachel Vixman, New York, N. Y.
 Saul O. Wallbaum, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Prof. Lerpy Waterman, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Morris Watson, New York, N. Y.
 Doxey A. Wilkinson, Washington, D. C.
 Ella Winter, Carmel, Calif.
 Robert Wirtz, Chicago, Ill.
 Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Los Gatos, Calif.
 John Woodruff, Wilgore, Tex.
 Richard Wright, Cuernavaca, Mex.
 Art Young, New York, N. Y.

AND THIRTEENTH

That said Lovett did serve as a sponsor for the Communist front which was known as the Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign which was in turn an auxiliary of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Exhibit No. 19 is a reproduction of a letter on the letterhead of the aforementioned organization. On this exhibit, the name of Robert Morse Lovett appears as a sponsor.

It will be noted that this letterhead itself indicates that the Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign was an auxiliary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, one of the organizations which the Dies Committee, the Interdepartmental Committee, and the Attorney General have all described as a Communist front.

EXHIBIT No. 19

Hon. Caroline O'Day, honorary
chairman

BOARD OF SPONSORS

Prof. Frans Boas
William E. Dodd, Jr.
Josef Lhevinne
Hon. Clifford T. McAvoy
Mrs. James Roosevelt
Rev. Guy Emery Shippler
Eleanor D. Brannan, chairman
Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary
Cyrus S. Porter, campaign director

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Le Roy E. Bowman

Prof. Theodore Brameld
Louis Bromfield
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
Rev. Lewis H. David
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Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
Dr. A. L. Goldwater
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Minna Harkaway
Lillian Hellman
Hamilton Holt
Mabel Houk
Rev. Frank Hutchison
Rockwell Kent
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Rev. Eugene S. Lawler
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Rev. Wayne White
Oliver Whitson
Rev. C. Lawson Willard
Rev. Arthur D. Wolfrath
Max Yergan
Leane Zugsmith

REFUGEE SCHOLARSHIP AND PEACE CAMPAIGN

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

New York City Division 70 Fifth Avenue Algonquin 4-9290

AUGUST 3, 1939.

Mrs. KELLEY,
American League Office, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KELLEY: As per our conversation in New York recently I am sending under separate cover some material which you may find useful in building a Washington Religious Committee. I regret that we do not have more material of this type.

Mr. Harris was not in on that Saturday you were here, but he was very pleased to know that you may be able to drive up for the luncheon which is to plan for national religious work. It will probably be sometime around the middle of September.

Our Christian Front pamphlets ought to be out within a week and I will see that you get copies.

Cordially,

ALAN J. SMITH,
Sec'y, Religious Committee.

AND FOURTEENTH

That said Lovett did act as a contest judge for the three Communist front organizations which were known as the League of American Writers, the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the American Student Union.

Exhibit No. 20 is a reproduction of an article from the Daily Worker of January 16, 1938, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a contest judge for the aforementioned organizations.

The Interdepartmental Committee found that the League of American Writers is a subversive organization. At this point, it may be noted that the Interdepartmental Committee did not pass judgment on the character of the American Student Union and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for the reason that it was not alleged that any considerable number of Federal Government employees were affiliated with these two organizations. However, the Dies committee has found that both of these organizations were Communist fronts.

EXHIBIT No. 20

BIG MONEY CONTEST FOR SPAIN

A contest with prizes of \$1,000 open to all American college students, sponsored by the League of American Writers in conjunction with the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the American Student Union is underway.

The subject of the contest is "The anti-Fascist struggle in Spain today, and its relation to the general welfare of the American citizen of tomorrow." No particular method of treatment is required, and material may be either poetry, prose, film or radio script, fiction, drama, or essay. There are no limits as to length.

The judges include Elliot Paul, Donald Ogden Stewart, Jean Starr Untemeyer, H. V. Kaltenborn, Robert Morss Lovett, and Clifford Odets.

AND FIFTEENTH

That said Robert Morss Lovett did act as a member of the national committee of the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, a Communist front organization which participated with other Communist fronts of a similar nature in the formation of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Exhibit No. 21 is a photostat of a letterhead which contains the name of Robert Morss Lovett as a member of the national committee of the medical bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

The Dies committee found unanimously that the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 21

MEDICAL BUREAU

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY
Room 1105—20 Vesey Street—New York City
Telephone: BArelay 7-3811-3812

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Chairman
BISHOP ROBERT L. PADDOCK
Vice-Chairman
JOHN DEWEY
Chairman of Executive Committee
SAMUEL GUY INMAN
Vice-Chairman of Executive Committee
GUY EMERY SHIPLER
Treasurer
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'DOCTORS COMMITTEE

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Walter B. Cannon
Anton J. Carlson
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Samuel A. Lovine
John P. Peters
Henry E. Sigorist
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Roger Chase

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Mildred Adams
Roger N. Baldwin
Eleanor Copenhaver
Charles J. Hendley
Hubert C. Herring
Corliss Lamont
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Josephine Schain
George Soule
Rev. William B. Spofford
Maxwell Stewart

COMMITTEE

Devere Allen
Harry Elmer Barnes
Carleton Beals
Stephen Vincent Benet
Alfred Bingham
Bruce Bliven
Herschel Brickell

COMMITTEE—continued

Heywood Brown
Mrs. W. Russell Bowie
Prof. Morris Cohen
Malcolm Cowley
Dr. Edward T. Devine
John Dos Passos
Prof. Paul Douglas
Dr. Stephen P. Duggan
Sherwood Eddy
John L. Elliott
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Dr. D. J. Fleming
Waldo Frank
Pres. Frank P. Graham
L. O. Hartman
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Rabbi Edward Israel
Rev. John Paul Jones
Matthew Josephson
Paul Kellogg
Freda Kirovsky

COMMITTEE—continued

Max Lerner
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Prof. C. H. McIlwain
Archibald McLeish
Dr. John Mackay
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Hon. Maury Maverick
Prof. Charles Clayton Morrison.
Lewis Mumford
Pres. William Allen Nelson
Prof. Frederick Nussbaum
Prof. Harry A. Overstreet
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
William Pickens
Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger
Leland Stowe
Dr. Allen Sweeney
Mary Van Kleeck
Oswald Garrison Villard
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

AND SIXTEENTH

That said Lovett did lend his name and prestige as a signer of a letter in defense of the Communist Party which was addressed to the President.

Exhibit No. 22 is a reproduction of the afore-mentioned letter which was published in the Communist weekly, *New Masses*, on April 2, 1940. On this exhibit, the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a signer of the letter in defense of the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 22

(NM, April 2, 1940)

The petition to the President, printed below, was initiated by the following committee: Elliot Paul, chairman, Franz Boas, Theodore Dreiser, Rockwell Kent, Corliss Lamont, George Beldes, Maxwell S. Stewart, and Dashiell Hammett. As we go to press more signatures are arriving in the mail and will be published later.

To President Franklin D. Roosevelt: In periods of crisis those civil liberties which are the foundation stone of a free society are endangered. Today, in the face of international crisis, it behooves us, as loyal Americans, to examine critically and expose to the light all threats against democracy at home.

Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy, and we must critically analyze any governmental attack on the rights of Americans to maintain dissident opinions which inevitably result in the destruction of civil rights for all.

The recent raid, without warrant, on the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the abortive indictments in Detroit for recruiting for loyalist Spain, the badgering of Communist leaders, the attacks by the Dies committee on consumer and labor groups, are all part of the rapidly accumulating evidence of a tendency to pervert the spirit while pretending to adhere to the letter of the Bill of Rights.

This same tendency exists in the perversion of the function of the Special Grand Jury now convened in Washington, D. C., to investigate alleged military espionage. This investigation was initiated by the former attorney general, by the widespread publication of an extraordinary letter accusing a number of organizations and individuals of serious crimes. This unprecedented procedure was sharply condemned by the *Washington Post* as a breach of the constitutional rights of citizens. The subsequent public announcement by the special prosecutors that such investigation "would be used as a clearing house," inevitably created a suspicion that even an inquiry might be perverted into a witch-hunt directed against those whose views express differences with the government.

The *NEW MASSES* is not mentioned in the letter of the attorney general, but this has not prevented the Grand Jury from devoting much of its time to questioning editors and employees of *NEW MASSES*. Day after day, testimony is taken having no possible relation to the crimes under investigation, but intended to uncover the witnesses' views on current social and political problems. In this respect, it is really a "Dies committee" in another form. The continuance of this procedure might drive *New Masses* out of existence by frightening its readers and supporters, by harassing its editors, and by exhausting the meager funds of the magazine. It is in fact a war of nerves which will lead to the destruction of the freedom of expression of dissident opinion.

In the World War the suppression of the *Masses*, the barring from the mails of other publications, came after the entry of this country into the war. Today the move to silence free opinion is terrifyingly faster. It is a portent of war and a portent of wider suppression. Many of those who petition you, Mr. President, do not agree with the social and political views of *NEW MASSES*, but we recognize that the rights guaranteed in the Constitution cannot be denied to any group without undermining these rights themselves, and thereby making them insecure for all.

In your recent message to the *Nation* on its seventy-fifth anniversary, Mr. President, you said: "It does not matter whether one agrees with the *Nation* or not. The important thing is that everywhere and always—particularly in a democracy—minorities shall have a means of expressing themselves." That, Mr. President, is a genuine affirmation of the elementary human and civil rights of all Americans and we urgently call upon you to apply it—"everywhere and always."

We respectfully request you, Mr. President, to exert your influence to end this attack on freedom of the press and prevent its repetition in the future.

(Signed) Gordon W. Allport, professor of psychology, Harvard University; Frank E. Baker, president, State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.; Joseph Warren Beach, chairman, English department, University of Minnesota; Dr. George H. Bishop, professor, Washington University, St. Louis; Marc Blitzstein, composer-playwright, New York; Franz Boas, professor of anthropology, Columbia University; Louis B. Boudin, attorney, New York; Lyman R. Bradley, assistant professor of German, New York University; Millen Brand, writer, Barto, Pa.; Harold Chapman Brown, professor, Stanford University; Edwin Berry Burgum, professor, New York University; Lester Cohen, writer, Doylestown, Pa.; Bruce Crawford, editor and writer, Charleston, W. Va.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, lecturer and writer, Cambridge, Mass.; Edward C. Delafield, Jr., vice president, Modern Age Books, New York; Theodore Drieser, author, Hollywood; W. E. B. DuBois, head, department of sociology, Atlanta University, Ga.; Henry Epstein, solicitor General, New York State; Abraham Flexner, director emeritus, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University; Franklin Folsom, executive secretary, League of American Writers, New York; J. J. Fulton, Stirling professor, Yale University; Lewis Gannett, literary editor, New York *Herald Tribune*; Dr. A. L. Goldwater, physician, New York; Mordecai Gorelik, scene designer, New York; William Gropper, New York; Dashiell Hammett, writer, New York; Frank H. Hankins, professor, Smith College; Benjamin Harrow, professor of chemistry, College of the City of New York; Melville J. Herskovits, professor of anthropology, Northwestern University; Philip M. Hicks, professor, Swarthmore College; William W. Hinckley, former chairman, American Youth Congress, Bethesda, Md.; Kenneth E. Hoover, minister, Shrub Oak, New York; Ellsworth Huntington, professor, Yale University.

William Lloyd Innes, clergyman, New York; Robert Josephy, book designer, Bethel, Conn.; Van Dusen Kennedy, instructor in economics, Swarthmore College; Rockwell Kent, artist, New York; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, social worker, Shady, N. Y.; Arthur Kober, writer, New York; Corliss Lamont, author, New York; Ring W. Lardner, Jr., writer, Hollywood; Paul H. Lavietes, assistant professor of medicine, Yale University; M. Levi, professor emeritus, University of Michigan; Philip Loeb, actor, New York; J. B. Love, NYA administrator, Butte, Mont. Robert Moras Lovett, governor, Virgin Islands; William M. Malisoff, professor of biochemistry, Polytechnic Institute, New York; Albert Malts, author and teacher, New York University; Kirtley F. Mather, professor of geology, Harvard University; Edward G. Maxted, priest of the Episcopal Church, Pascagoula, Miss.; H. L. Mencken, writer, Baltimore, Md.; Catharine Meyer, teacher, Vassar College; Paul Mueschke, associate professor of English, University of Michigan; William S. Noble, minister, North Baltimore, Ohio; Katherine Macy Noyes, Urbana, Ill.; William Albert Noyes, Noyes Laboratory of Chemistry, University of Illinois.

Harvey O'Connor, writer, Chicago; Shaemas O'Sheel, writer, Red Hook, Dutchess County, N. Y.; Sam Ornitz, writer, Los Angeles; Elliot Paul, writer, New York; William Pickens, director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Alan Porter, teacher, Vassar College; Israel Putnam, president of I. Putnam, Inc., Elmira, N. Y.; Walter Rautenstrauch, professor of industrial engineering, Columbia University; Gardner Rea, artist, Brookhaven, N. Y.; Anton Refregier, mural painter, New York; Paul Robeson, singer, New York; Earl Robinson, composer and choral director, New York; Wellington Ross, writer, Staten Island, N. Y.; Harry Sacher, lawyer, New York; Margaret Schlauch, teacher, New York University; Edwin Seaver, author, New York; George Selde, writer, Wilton, Conn.; Helen Selde, Wilton, Conn.; Howard Selam, professor, Brooklyn College; Harlow Shapley, professor of astronomy, Harvard University; George H. Shull, professor, Princeton University; Herman Shumlin, stage director and producer, New York; Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, superior, Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, Oratory of St. Mary and St. Michael, Cambridge, Mass.; Alice D. Snyder, professor of English, Vassar College; Moses Soyfer, artist, New York; Raphael Soyfer, artist, New York; George Soule, editor, *New Republic*; Philip Stevenson, writer, New York; Donald Ogden Stewart, writer, Carmel, Calif.; Maxwell S. Stewart, associate editor, the *Nation*; I. F. Stone, associate editor, the *Nation*; Hans Otto Storm, engineer, Palo Alto, Calif.; Paul Strand, photographer, New York; Dirk J. Struik, associate professor of mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

Helen Tamiris, dancer, New York; C. Fayette Taylor, professor of engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Frederick Thompson, manufacturer,

San Francisco; Edward C. Tolman, professor of psychology, University of California; Jean Starr Untermeyer, writer, New York; Harold C. Urey, professor of chemistry, Columbia University; Stuyvesant Van Veen, mural artist and anthropologist, New York; Charles H. Wesley, professor of history, Howard University; James Wechsler, assistant editor, the *Nation*; Howard W. Willard, illustrator-designer, New York; Susan H. Woodruff, lecturer, member D. A. R., New York; Richard Wright, writer, Crompond, N. Y.; Art Young, artist, Bethel, Conn.; Leone Zugsmith, writer, New York.

AND SEVENTEENTH—

That said Robert Morss Lovett did act as one of those who signed the "call" for the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers.

Exhibit No. 23 is a photostat of the afore-mentioned call which appeared in the Communist New Masses in May 1941. On this exhibit, the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a signer of this call issued for the League of American Writers.

The Dies and the interdepartmental committee have found that the League of American Writers is a Communist front.

It will be noted that the afore-mentioned call was issued only a few weeks before the Nazi invasion of Russia and the call faithfully reflects the line of the Communist Party of that date.

EXHIBIT No. 23

IN DEFENSE OF CULTURE

The following is the Call of the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers, June 6-8, in New York City

In this hour of crisis, conscious of our responsibility as writers and our pledge to help preserve the American heritage of freedom and democratic culture, we issue this Call to the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers.

We are gathering to reaffirm the aims of our three previous Congresses.

In 1935, in 1937, and again in 1939, we declared our indissoluble ties with the American people. We proclaimed our unalterable conviction that reaction and its wars are the greatest enemies of a free and flourishing culture. We resolved to promote an atmosphere in which the literary crafts could be discussed cooperatively without compulsion or fear. We expressed our solidarity with the other progressive writers of this hemisphere and of the world.

In 1941, the values by which we have lived are facing unprecedented attacks. Half of the world is at war and the other half is endangered by attempts to draw it into war. We had warned of the consequences of "non-intervention" in Spain, of aid to the aggressor in China, of appeasement at Munich. Today, these consequences are tragically apparent. We have warned that America must be defended not by involvement in this war, or by steps toward dictatorship, or by pursuing a course of imperialist expansion, but by preserving peace and expanding democracy on the economic, political, and cultural levels. Today, we must ask whether the present policy of the administration and the program of big business are not leading us toward war and fascism in the name of resistance to war and fascism.

Our lives and our work, as craftsmen and as human beings, are at stake. We have special problems to meet: censorship and diversion of art to further a war the people do not want; diminishing outlets for the expression of our honest convictions; disregard for the needs of antifascist writers who seek asylum in the Americas. Wherever the right to speak is lost, we too are the losers. Wherever civil liberties are abridged, our stories, poems, plays, essays, and books are abridged. The attacks on trade-unions, political minorities, and education are attacks on our basic convictions as writers and as citizens.

We know that our existence as free writers, spokesmen of a free people, depends on our continued loyalty to the principles which govern the work of the League of American Writers. We therefore call our fellow writers, and our associates in the related cultural crafts, to the Fourth Biennial Congress to consider the following questions:

How best as writers can we resist the drive toward war and reaction which threatens our democratic culture?

What can we do to extend further help to persecuted writers of other lands?

What can we do to restore the W. P. A. cultural projects and to transform them into permanent People's Art Projects vital to the nation's strength?

What new technical developments in the various forms of writing need to be analyzed and evaluated?

What measures can we take to combat and surmount the growing restrictions on our work as honest craftsmen?

How can we contribute to a genuine cultural interchange between the peoples of the Americas?

How can we enrich America's imperishable democratic literature and extend its audience?

Initial Signers: Katharine Anthony, Benjamin Appel, Leopold Atlas, Helen Bergovoy, Alvah Bessie, Ivan Black, William Blake, Marc Blitzstein, Millen Brand, Dorothy Brewster, Edwin Berry Burgum, Fielding Burke.

Harry Carlisle, Robert Carso, Vera Caspary, Molly Castle, Haakon Chevalier, Edward Chodorov, Jerome Chodorov, Lester Cole, Jack Conroy, Alexander L. Crosby, H. W. L. Dana, Joy Davidman.

Frank Marshall Davis, Martha Dodd, William E. Dodd, Jr., Pietro di Donato, Muriel Draper, Theodore Drieser, James Dugan, Robert W. Dunn, Arnaud d'Usseau, Edward Ellsén, Ralph Ellison, Ben Field.

Frederick V. Field, Sarah Bard Field, Joseph Fields, Sender Garlin, Lillian Barnard Gilkes, Michael Gold, Morton Grant, Dashiell Hammett, Henry Hart, Lillian Hellman, Eugene C. Holmes, Langston Hughes.

Paul Jarrico, Gordon Kahn, Jean Karsavina, Rockwell Kent, Jerome Klein, Arthur Kober, Lester Koenig, Alfred Kreymborg, Joshua Kunitz, Corliss Lamont, John Howard Lawson, Meridel Le Sueur.

Robert Morse Lovett, Helen Merrell Lynd, Ruth McKenney, May McNoer, Carey McWilliams, A. B. Magil, Albert Maltz, Dexter Masters, Robert Meltzer, Leonard E. Mins, Bruce Minton, Dudley Nichols.

Joseph North, Harvey O'Connor, Sam Ornitz, Myra Page, Phelps Putnam, Samuel Putnam, Mike Quin, Maurice Rapp, Walter Rautenstrauch, W. L. River, Earl Robinson, Wellington Roe.

Harold J. Rome, Robert Rossen, Jerry Sackheim, Harold J. Salomonson, Waldo Salt, John Sanford, Margaret Schlauch, Isidor Schneider, Vida D. Souder, Frank Seully, George Seldes, Viola Brothers Shore.

Samuel Sillon, George Sklar, Isobel Walker Soule, Marian Spitzer, Christina Stead, Bernhard J. Stern, Philip Stevenson, Donald Ogden Stewart, Hans Otto Storm, Anna Louise Strong, Genevieve Taggard, Ethel Turner.

Charles A. Wagner, Eda Lou Walton, Harry F. Ward, Orson Welles, Chandler Whipple, Maurine Whipple, Charles Erskine, Scott Wood, Richard Wright, Victor A. Yakhontoff, Louis Zara.

AND EIGHTEENTH

That said Lovett did lend his name and prestige to the Communist front which is known as the International Labor Defense by signing a petition published by the organization.

Exhibit No. 24 is a reproduction of the afore-mentioned petition which was published in the Daily Worker.

The signatories to this petition were, with two or three exceptions only, well known as Communists or Communist fellow travelers.

EXHIBIT NO. 24

LIBERALS ASK 400 JAPANESE LEADERS FREED—WERE JAILED IN TOKIO FOR OPPOSITION TO CHINA INVASION

One hundred prominent liberals petitioned the Home Minister of Japan for freedom of 400 Japanese professors and other leaders imprisoned on political charges since the beginning of the Japanese invasion of Japan in a petition made public by Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense.

Among the prisoners are prominent professors, members of the Japanese parliament, leaders of the Japanese labor movement, writers, outstanding educators, councilmen, assemblymen, lawyers, about 200 workers in the transportation and munition industries, and a number of peasants. 372 were arrested in raids last December 15.

Among these were Kanju Kato, a labor leader well known in this country, which he toured in 1935 on the invitation of the American Federation of Labor. He was a member of parliament from Tokyo, elected by the highest vote cast for any candidate. Baroness Ishimoto, released from prison but still held under technical arrest, stated after her release that in her opinion, none of the 372, many of whom were her personal friends, are Communists.

Since this mass raid, 40 more have been arrested, the greater number of whom were professors at various Japanese universities.

PROMINENT FIGURES

Among the most prominent of the 100 signatories to the petition which has been sent to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington for transmittal to his government are:

Peggy Bacon; Congressman John T. Bernard; Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop; Marc Biltzstein; Vera Caspary; Dr. Ch'ao-Ting Chi; Humphrey Cobb; Malcolm Cowley; Miguel Covarrubias; Countess Cullen; Joseph Curran; President National Maritime Union; Jerome Davis, President American Federation of Teachers; Martha Dodd; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University; Wanda Gag; Francis J. Gorman, President United Textile Workers Union; Aline Davis Hays, President League of Women Shoppers; Allan S. Haywood, New York C. I. O. Regional Director; Rockwell Kent; Prof. Robert Morris Lovett, University of Chicago; Lewis Merri, President United Office and Professional Workers Union; Isamu Noguchi; Harvey O'Connor; Clifford Odets; Harold J. Pritchett; President, International Woodworkers of America; Councilman Michael J. Quill, International President Transport Workers Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; Margaret Sanger; George Seldes; Upton Sinclair; Donald Ogden Stewart; Congressman Henry Tlogan; Ernst Toller; Eda Lou Walton; A. F. Whitney, President Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Thornton Wilder; Susan H. Woodruff; Mary E. Wooley, former President Mt. Holyoke College; Charles Zimmerman, President Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

AND NINETEENTH

That said Lovett did act as a member of the advisory board of the Communist front organization which is known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-born.

Exhibit No. 25 is a reproduction of a letterhead of the aforementioned organization which contains the name of Robert Morris Lovett as a member of the organization's advisory board.

The Dies committee has found that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-born is a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 25

Rev. Herman F. Reissig, Chairman; Theodore Irwin, James Waterman Wise, Vice-Chairman; Irving Novick, Acting Secretary; Clifford A. Cochran, Treasurer; Abner Green, Publicity

American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born,
79 Fifth Avenue, New York City, January 1940.

DEAR FRIENDS: We know that you will be happy to hear—as we were—that not one of the 68 antialien bills, which were introduced during the 1st Session of the 76th Congress, passed. This was indeed a victory for those who are interested in preventing the passage of antidemocratic and anti-American legislation.

The danger of these so-called antialien bills, however, still exists. They have only been temporarily prevented from passing and will be one of the first points on the legislative agenda when Congress reconvenes in January 1940. Two of these bills passed by the House—the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill and the Smith Omnibus Anti-Allen Bill—have been reported out of Committee and are on the Senate Calendar. They may be up for a vote during the first week or two of the next session.

These bills continue to present a menace to church, language, fraternal, and social societies, and to organized labor. THEY MUST BE DEFEATED. To relax our vigilance at this time would be dangerous. What is essential now is that we take advantage of the adjournment of Congress by mobilizing between now and

January such opposition to these measures that it will be impossible for the reactionaries to sneak through or pass any of these bills in 1940.

In the action that you take, we urge you to use to the fullest extent the Petition to President Roosevelt, which we are circulating, and the post cards protesting the Dempsey Deportation Bill. A copy of each of these is enclosed.

It is very possible that you will be able to use more Petitions, since some of your members may want to take one among their friends and neighbors, in that way helping our campaign immensely. If you do want additional Petitions, a post card, a phone call, or a visit from your representative will insure that you get them without delay.

We wish to thank you for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. HERMAN F. REISSIG, *Chairman.*

ADVISORY BOARD: Louis Adamic, Roger Baldwin, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Heywood Brown, Hon. Emanuel Celler, Nathan Chaitin, Winifred L. Chappell, D. Christophorides, David Coudenis, Prof. George S. Counts, Prof. Leonard Covello, Anna Damon, Jerome Davis, Prof. John Dewey, Donald S. Friesde, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Howard, Mrs. Haynes Irwin, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Carol Kimp, Prof. Robert Morris Lovett, Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, O. M. Orton, Irving Schwab, Isaac Shorr, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Oswald Garrison Villard, I. Hollingsworth Wood, Charles S. Zimmerman.

AND TWENTIETH

That said Lovett did send greetings to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-born, the Communist front organization named in Exhibit No. 25.

Exhibit No. 26 is a reproduction of an article from the Daily Worker of January 10, 1938, in which it is stated that Robert Morris Lovett sent greetings to the aforementioned organizations.

EXHIBIT No. 26

(From The Daily Worker, January 10, 1938, page 4)

TORY ATTACKS AGAINST FOREIGN BORN ASSAILED—500 DELEGATES ATTEND CONFERENCE TO PROTECT RIGHTS OF FOREIGN BORN UNDER U. S. LAW—DISCRIMINATION ON W. P. A. SCORED

More than 500 delegates representing a million people met at Hotel Pennsylvania yesterday at a conference called by the American Committee of the Protection of the Foreign-born.

Bernard J. Stern of the Department of Social Sciences at Columbia University, chairman, summarized the anti-foreign-born policies of the reactionary forces in America.

Citing the main purpose of the committee and slaying the specious excuses offered by the dyed-in-the-wool Tories. Stern declared, "the committee was dedicated to the preservation of democratic rights of the foreign-born in America and to the proposal of full equal rights.

The most outstanding speaker was Dwight O. Morgan, Secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born who vigorously protested the baiters attacks upon non-citizens in America.

Recalling the rank discriminatory policy practiced by W. P. A. through the recently enacted Section 3 of the 1937 Relief Appropriations Act and referring to the persistent denial of old age pensions to foreign born Morgan declared:

"PROTECTION FROM TYRANTS"

"A constructive measure to aid in maintaining and extending the democratic rights of the American people, native and foreign-born alike, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born calls for the amendment of the naturalization laws, by reducing fees, eliminating the red tape, and discrimination to permit all non-citizens in this country who wish to do so, to become American citizens."

Urging a positive and constructive program to protect noncitizens, Morgan demanded the right of asylum for these people and national protection from "tyrants abroad as well as tyrants here."

Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Minister of Justice of Prussia and former member of the Reichstag, indicted "present reign of Nazi terror" in Germany and decried its "lynching system."

I. L. D. GREETINGS

Describing the miserable conditions existing in the original concentration camps and reviewing the inhuman disciplinary regulations, Rosenfeld enjoined the delegates to launch a unified campaign against deportation.

Caroline O'Day, Congresswoman at large of New York reviewed some of the cases brought before the house committee and told of the need for proper investigation of more cases so that just legislation can be granted the foreign-born.

Other speakers included D. Christoforides, associate editor of the National Herald, and Domenic Salitto, ardent Italian anti-fascist.

Telegrams and letters of greeting were received from Robert Morris Lovett, Representative Emanuel Celler, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Anna Damon and Vito Marcantonio of the I. L. D.

Resolutions were passed supporting Bill H. R. 7640 concerning the right of asylum to foreign born; amending the Dies Bill by the inclusion of discretionary power for cases of persons held for deportation because of political opinion and of those who face persecution if deported, and proposing the deletion of the discriminatory amendment of 1937038 Emergency Relief Appropriation Act.

AND TWENTY-FIRST

That said Lovett did act as a member of the Communist front organization which was known as the National Comm'ttee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Exhibit No. 27 is a photostat of a letterhead of the aforementioned organization on which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a member.

The interdepartmental committee found that the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners was a subversive organization.

EXHIBIT No. 27

Louis Adamic
Sherwood Anderson
Nathan Asch
Carlton Beals
William Rose Benet
Crane Brinton
Erskine Caldwell
John Chamberlain
Lester Cohen
Rex Commins
Marg Connelly
Jack Conroy
Eleanor Copenhaver
Aaron Copland
George A. Counts
Malcolm Cowley
Bruce Crawford
Kyle Creighton
Couttee Cullen
Edward Dahlberg
H. W. L. Dana
John Dos Passos
Theodore Dreiser
Guy Endore
James T. Farrell
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Edgar Fraey
Waldo Frank
Hugo Gellert

Lydia Gibson
Colburn Gillman
Murray Goodwin
Michael Gold
Benjamin Goldstein
Eugene Gordon
C. Hartley Grattan
Paul Green
Horace Gregory
John H. Hammond, Jr.
Henry Hart
Josephine Herbst
John Herrmann
Granville Hicks
Alfred H. Hirsch
Pierre Loving
Quincy Howe
Langston Hughes
Maxwell Hyde
Orlick Johns
Oakley Johnson
William N. Jones
Matthew Josephson
Alfred Kreymborg
Joshua Kunitz
Meridel Le Sueur
Melvin P. Levy
Robert Morris Lovett
Grace Lumpkin

Claude McKay
Lewis Mumford
Henry Neumann
Samuel Ornitz
Anna Pennypacker
Paul Peters
Burton Rascoe
William Rollins, Jr.
Edward Sapir
Evelyn Schloss
Isidor Schneider
Paul Sifton
Upton Sinclair
John L. Spivak
William Stele
Bernhard J. Stern
Maxwell Stewart
Ruth Stout
Allan Taub
Louise Thompson
Mary Heaton Vorse
Charles R. Walker
Lynd Ward
John Wexley
Frankwood P. Williams
Walter Wilson
Ella Winter
Blanche Yurka

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

ROOM 834, 166 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Phone: CHelsea 8-9595

We Defend Militant Labor and the Victims of Racial Oppression

OCTOBER 31, 1935.

LINCOLN STEFFENS, Chairman
SIDNEY HOWARD, Vice Chairman
ROSE MCCLENDON, Vice Chairman
JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, Treasurer

JOSEPH S. GELDERS, Sec'y.
DAVID KINKRAD, Ass't Sec'y.

AND TWENTY-SECOND

That said Lovett did act as a member of the National Committee for People's Rights, a Communist front organization.

Exhibit No. 28 is a photostat of a letterhead of the aforementioned organization on which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a member.

The interdepartmental committee and the Dies committee have both found that the National Committee for People's Rights is a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT NO. 28

Louis Adamie	Waldo Frank	Margaret Osborn
Sherwood Anderson	Joseph B. Gelders	William H. Osborn
Nathan Asch	Lydia Gibson	Anna Pannypacker
Mrs. George J. Atwell, Jr.	Murray Godwin	Paul Peters
S. L. M. Barlow	C. Hartley Grattan	Austin Purves
Hamilton Basso	Paul Green	Burton Rascoe
Carleton Beals	Horace Gregory	Bill Rogers
Cedric Belfrage	John Hammond	Samuel L. Rothbard
William Rose Benet	Earl P. Hanson	Edward Sapir
Willie Sue Blagden	Henry Hart	Isidor Schneider
S. John Block	Lillian Hellman	George Seides
J. Edward Bromberg	Josephine Herbat	Paul Sifton
Erskine Caldwell	John Herrmann	Upton Sinclair
Bennett A. Cerf	Granville Hicks	George Soule
John Chamberlain	Alfred H. Hirsch	Isabel Walker Soule
Winifred Chappell	Quincy Howe	John L. Spivak
Coleman B. Cheney	Langston Hughes	William Steig
Lester Cohen	William N. Jones	Bernhard J. Stern
Saxe Commins	Matthew Josephson	Donald Ogden Stewart
Marc Connelly	Beatrice Kaufman	Maxwell Stewart
Jack Conroy	George S. Kaufman	Ruth Stout
Eleanor Copenhaver	David Kinead	Louise Thompson
Aaron Copland	Alfred Kreymsborg	Mary Heaton Vorse
George S. Counts	Louis Kronenberger	Lynd Ward
Malcolm Cowley	Joshua Kunitz	John Wexley
Bruce Crawford	Meridel Le Sueur	Walter Wilson
Kyle Crichton	Robert Morris Lovett	Frances Winwar
Countess Cullen	Pierre Loving	Charles Erskine Scott, Wood
H. W. L. Dana	Grace Lumpkin	Blanche Yurka
Muriel Draper	Claude McKay	Leane Zugamith
Theodore Dreiser	Bruce Minton	GIFFORD A. COCHRAN
Leonard Ehrlich	George L. K. Morris	Secretary
Guy Endore	Lewis Mumford	KEANOR WEINSTOCK
Sara Bard Field	Henry Neumann	Assistant Secretary
Osmond H. Fraenkel	Dr. H. C. Nixon	JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, Treasurer
Edgar Fraley	Samuel Ornitz	
ROCKWELL KENT, Chairman	ELLA WINTER, Vice-Chairman	

NEWS YOU DON'T GET

CLIPPINGS OF MATERIAL USED WOULD BE APPRECIATED

Issued by the NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS, 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., formerly National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

FOUR LINCOLN BRIGADE VETS RELEASED FROM ELLIS ISLAND—PAUL LIST DEPORTATION HALTED—FATE OF FIFTEEN STILL IN DOUBT

NOVEMBER 15, 1938.

Armistice Day, November 11, brought a ray of hope to the weary vets awaiting deportation on Ellis Island when four were released. Rudolph Franchini, who had come to the United States from Italy in 1921 and had lost a leg while helping the Spanish people defend Madrid, Augustin Plaza, born in Ecuador, and Carlos Roel, originally from Mexico, were released on \$500 bond. Alois Lucel, originally from Switzerland, heard a deportation order changed to an unconditional release.

The most pressing case, that of Paul List, took a slight turn for the better when it was announced that his deportation, scheduled for Saturday, November 12, was postponed for a short time. Having come to this country in 1921, Paul List worked as a seaman up until 1937, when he went to France in order to reenter on the basis of his wife's American citizenship to legalize his stay in this country. From there, List went to Spain and drove an ambulance for the Loyalist Government. He has proven himself in every way to be a trustworthy and desirable

person. The National Committee for People's Rights through its members has vigorously protested against the action of the Department of Labor in the List case, and is urging that List be released immediately and be permitted to join his wife and his child, who is seriously ill with infantile paralysis in a Rochester hospital.

AND TWENTY-THIRD

That said Lovett did serve as vice chairman of the Communist front organization which was known as the American League Against War and Fascism.

Exhibit No. 29 is a photostat of the front and back side of a letter-head of the aforementioned organization on which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as vice chairman of the organization. Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, was also a vice chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, according to this exhibit.

The American League was one of the most influential communist organizations ever set up in this country. Its program called for the treasonable sabotage of American defense in the event of this country's participation in war.

The Attorney General, the Dies committee, and the Interdepartmental Committee have all found that the American League was a subversive Communist front.

EXHIBIT No. 29

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A movement to unite in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allied destroyers of mankind

112 E. 19th Street. Room 605
New York City, August 22, 1935.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4—9784-9785

HARRY F. WARD, Chairman, ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT, Vice Chairman,
LINCOLN STEFFENS, Vice Chairman, EARL BROWDER, Vice Chairman,
WILLIAM P. MANGOLD, Treasurer.

NATIONAL BUREAU: ROGER BALDWIN, LEROY E. BOWMAN, ELEANOR
BRANNAN, ELMER CARTER, PAUL CROSSBIE, MARGARET FOR-
SYTH, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, DONALD HENDERSON, WILLIAM
P. MANGOLD, SAMUEL C. PATTERSON, HARRY F. WARD, JAMES
WATERMAN WISE.

SECRETARIAL STAFF: Executive, PAUL M. REID; Administration, CLARA
BODIAN; Affiliations, CHARLES C. WEBBER; Organization, WALDO
McNUTT; Publications, LISTON M. OAK; Women, DOROTHY McCON-
NELL; Youth, JAMES LERNER.

DEAR CITY SECRETARY: Here is the first part of the long-promised and much-needed ORGANIZATION HANDBOOK. The National Organization Committee has spent long hours of careful work in compiling and editing this material. It is designed to guide the work of our League Branches and City Committees all over the country. Its value lies in your use of it. The completed HANDBOOK covers the important questions as to the nature and organization of the League that have arisen in many places.

Read it carefully, see to it that the other members of your City Central Committee or Branch read it; discuss its contents, let us know whether the Book is helpful, and what additional information would be useful to you.

You will note that the HANDBOOK is issued in loose-leaf form and in Sections. This is to make for the easy addition of new material. Get a cheap binder to fit these punched sheets, and keep the HANDBOOK for ready reference by all your League workers.

The rest of Section IV (the remainder of item II, and III and IV) will be out soon, and may easily be added.

The last half of the HANDBOOK will cover the following sections:

A City Central Committee in Operation.

How to extend a City Central Committee into a community.

How to run meetings.

The Sections of the League—Women's, Trade Union, etc.

Thing to do.

Don'ts.

Miscellaneous items.

Additional copies of the completed HANDBOOK will cost 20¢. You may have other copies of the first half for 10¢.

Sincerely yours,

PMR:BW

PAUL M. REID,
Executive Secretary.

EXHIBIT No. 29

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Thomas R. Amle, Wisconsin	Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York	William P. Mangold
Israel Amter, New York	Mrs. Annie E. Gray, Colorado	Waldo McNutt, Kansas
Roger Baldwin, New York	Gilbert Green, New York	Rev. J. A. Martin
Mrs. Clinton Barr, Wisconsin	Clarence Hathaway, New York	Rev. R. Lester Mondale, Illinois
Max Bedacht, New York	A. A. Heller, New York	Peter Onisick, Pennsylvania
Fred Biedenkapp, New York	Donald Henderson, Dist. of Columbia	Samuel C. Patterson, New York
Charles Blome, Missouri	Harold Hickerson, Dist. of Columbia	D. R. Poindexter, Illinois
Ella Reeve Bloor, Pennsylvania	Roy Hudson, New York	Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., New York
John Boach, Minnesota	Langston Hughes, California	Henry Shepard, New York
LeRoy E. Bowman, New York	Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Maryland	Tredwell Smith, New York
Harry Bridges, California	Clarence Irwin, Ohio	Rev. William B. Spofford, New York
Earl Browder, New York	Lela R. Jackson, Pennsylvania	Lincoln Steffens, California
William Brown, Ohio	Herman Jensen, Wisconsin	Maxwell S. Stewart, New York
Mabel Byrd, Illinois	Manning Johnson, New York	Louise Thompson, New York
Winifred Chappell, New York	A. H. Johnston, Ohio	Alfred Wagenknecht, New York
George A. Coe, Illinois	Rev. Herbert King, Michigan	Colston E. Warne, Massachusetts
Prof. George B. Counts, New York	Ernst Kornfeld, Pennsylvania	Dr. Harry F. Ward, New York
Malcolm Cowley, New York	Corliss Lamont, New York	Louis Weinstein, New York
H. W. L. Dana, Massachusetts	James Lerner, New York	James Wechsler, New York
Dorothy Detser, Dist. of Columbia	E. C. Lindemann, New York	John Werlick, Illinois
Margaret Forsyth, New York	Lola Maverick Lloyd, Illinois	Richard Babb Whitten, Louisiana
Maurice Gates, New York	Robert Morse Lovett, Illinois	Ela Winter, California
Ben Gold, New York		Alex V. Wright, Virginia
Paul L. Goldman, New York		Charles Zimmerman, New York
Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein, New York		

AND TWENTY-FOURTH

That said Lovett did continue to serve as vice chairman of the most influential Communist front in this country after its name had been changed from the American League Against War and Fascism to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Exhibit No. 30 is a photostat of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy on which the name of Robert Morse Lovett appears as a vice chairman of the organization.

EXHIBIT No. 30

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Harry F. Ward, National Chairman
Mrs. Victor L. Berger
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Howard G. Costigan
Robert Morse Lovett
Rev. William B. Spofford
A. F. Whitney, Vice-Chairmen

James S. Allen
Rev. Jule Ayers
George Biddle
LeRoy Bowman
Eleanor Brannan
Joseph Cadden
Margaret Forsyth
Walter Frank
Clarence Hathaway

Prof. Oliver Lashin
George Marshall
Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch
Rev. William B. Spofford
Dr. Channing Tobias
Mrs. A. H. Vroman
Morris Watson
Dr. Max Yergan

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
Monthly magazine THE FIGHT

Cable address Amleag, New York; Tel. AL 4-9784-5

National office, 268 Fourth Ave., Room 701, New York, N. Y.

MARCH 24th, 1939.

THERESA MERLIN,
Chicago, Illinois

DEAR THERESA: I am really sorry about the misunderstanding on the check. You were absolutely right—we did receive the check for \$103.10, which was duly deposited. I am sorry about all the lengthy letters you had to write, and everything is now all right.

The proceedings are going forward under separate cover.

Sincerely,

BELLE WIENER.

BW:fr
uopwa/16

AND TWENTY-FIFTH

That said Lovett did act as a leader of the American League Against War and Fascism in Chicago.

Exhibit No. 31 is a photostat of a letterhead on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as one who signed an appeal to the members of the faculty of the University of Chicago under the auspices of the American League.

EXHIBIT No. 31

Harry F. Ward, National Chairman. Rev. Ralph M. Compero, Midwest Organizer. Gilbert Rooke, Executive Secretary. Jane Swanhuyer, Organisational Secretary

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Room 1216—188 West Randolph Street

Phone: Dearborn 6902

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

To The Faculty Members of the University of Chicago:

The American League Against War and Fascism has issued a Call for a People's Congress for Democracy and Peace to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., November 26-28th, 1937.

The main issues on the agenda are:

1. An American Peace Policy—

What can the United States contribute to world peace?

2. Democratic rights—

How can we assure the rights of all classes—labor, racial and religious groups?

3. War Preparations—

Must we spend billions of dollars for national defense.

4. Fascist Formations—

How shall we resist the use of violence by self-constituted defenders of "law and order"?

The events of the last years—Ethiopia, Spain, China—make it increasingly clear that Fascism leads to war. If the United States is to meet this challenge, its people must be alert to recognize the character of Fascism, wherever it appears, and must cultivate resolutely the will to democratic rule and peace.

These are issues close to the whole community, and members of the teaching profession particularly in colleges and universities, can render signal service by sharing in the formation of an enlightened public opinion. The People's Congress offers an opportunity for open discussion and crystallization of policy for all those interested in the problems at stake.

The undersigned members of the University endorse the purpose of the Congress and urge all those who are interested to lend it their support by attending the Congress, and if possible, by contributing financially to its expenses.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Durbin Rowland, Charles T. Miller, Robert Morris Lovett, Hayward Keniston, Wayne McMillen, Louis Wirth, Harold A. Swenson, Herbert Blumer, Merle O. Coulter, A. E. Haydon, C. E. Glick, Earl S. Johnson, Viola Manderfeld, Robert V. Merrill, Margaret Creech, Malcolm Sharp.

AND TWENTY-SIXTH

That said Lovett did serve as an endorser of a congress held under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Exhibit No. 32 is a reproduction of an official circular of the 1939 congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The name of Robert Morris Lovett appears on this exhibit as an endorser of the afore-mentioned congress.

EXHIBIT No. 32

WE SUMMON REPRESENTATIVES of the organizations of the American people—trade-unions, farm bodies, peace societies, religious organizations, fraternal orders, civic bodies, organizations of veterans, women and youth. At this Congress the democratic peace forces of America will map out a program for the defense of democracy and peace—a program based on the necessity to: Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people; keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world.

CONGRESS ENDORSED BY

(These endorsements are personal, not organizational)

Rabbi Michael Alper, Associate Editor, "Reconstructionist".
 Sherwood Anderson, Writer.
 Reverend Edgar R. Artist, Historian, Eastern Baptist Ass'n of New York.
 Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union.
 Lewis Alan Berne, President, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians.
 George Biddle, Artist.
 Crissie Birrell.
 Professor Frans Boas, Columbia University, New York City.
 John H. Bosch, President, National Farm Holiday Ass'n.
 Mrs. W. Russell Bowle, President, New York State Consumers League.
 Hon. Usher L. Burdick, U. S. Representative, North Dakota.
 John D. Butkovich, President, Croatian Fraternal Union of America.
 Joseph Cadden, United States Chairman, World Youth Congress.
 William F. Cochran, Vice-President, Church League for Industrial Democracy.
 Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen, Executive Director, United Synagogue of America.
 Hon. John M. Coffee, U. S. Representative, Washington.
 Howard Costigan, Executive Secretary, Washington Commonwealth Federation.
 Jerome Davis, President, American Federation of Teachers.
 John P. Davis, Secretary, National Negro Congress.
 Barrington Dunbar.
 Paul De Kruif, Writer.
 Melvyn Douglas, Actor.
 Theodore Dreiser, Writer.
 Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University.
 Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Writer.
 Abram Flaxer, President, State, County & Municipal Workers of America.
 Miguel Garriga, Vice-President, Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance.
 Albert Ghidoni, Secretary-Treasurer, District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America.
 Professor Willystine Goodsell, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

Rudolph Harju, Secretary, Cooperative Unity Alliance.
 L. O. Hartman, Editor, "Zions Herald".
 Clarence Hathaway, Editor, "The Daily Worker".
 Donald Henderson, President, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America.
 Alexander Hoffman, General Manager, Cleaners, Dyers & Truck Drivers, Union Local 239, A. C. W., New York City.
 Reverend William Lloyd Imes, St. James Presbyterian Church, New York City.
 E. STANLEY JONES, Missionary. ROCKWELL KENT, President, United American Artists. JOSEPH P. LASH, Executive Secretary, American Student Union. DAVID LASSER, President, Workers Alliance of America.
 MAX LERNER, Writer. DR. KIRTLEY F. MATHER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, New York Area, Methodist Episcopal Church. RHODA E. McCULLOCH, Editor, "The Womens Press." KATHERINE MCINERNEY, Executive Secretary, League of Women Shoppers. LEWIS MERRILL, President, United Office & Professional Workers of America. MORRIS MUSTER, President, United Furniture Workers of America. PROFESSOR REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. SAMUEL ORNITZ, Writer. BISHOP ROBERT L. PADDOCK. REVEREND ELIM A. PALMQUIST, Executive Secretary, Philadelphia Federation of Churches. HON. JAMES P. POPE, U. S. Senator, Idaho. MERVYN RATHBORNE, President, American Communications Ass'n. REID ROBINSON, President, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers of America. HON. BYRON N. SCOTT, U. S. Representative, California. REVEREND GUY EMERY SHIPLER, Editor, "The Churchman". VIOLA BROTHERS SHORE, Writer. REVEREND H. NORMAN SIBLEY, University Heights Presbyterian Church, New York City. ROBERT G. SPIVACK, Secretary for the U. S. International Student Service. REVEREND WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy. DONALD OGDEN STEWART, President, League of American Writers. EDWARD E. STRONG, Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress. HON. HENRY G. TEIGAN, U. S. Representative, Minnesota. REVEREND WORTH M. TIPTON, General Secretary Emeritus, Social Service Dept., Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. ROSE TROIANO. FRANK TUTTLE, Motion Picture Director. PROFESSOR DAVID D. VAUGHAN, School of Theology, Boston University. MRS. A. H. VIXMAN, Former National Executive Director, Young Judaea. DR. GOODWIN WATSON, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. A. F. WHITNEY, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. DR. MAX YERGAN, Director, International Committee on African Affairs.

NATIONAL OFFICERS, AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

HARRY F. WARD, *National Chairman* ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT, *Vice-Chairman*
 MRS. VICTOR L. BERGER, *Vice-Chairman* MARGARET FORSYTH, *Acting Treasurer*

AND TWENTY-SEVENTH

That said Lovett did act as a member of the National Peoples Committee Against Hearst, an auxiliary of the Communist front which was known as the American League Against War and Fascism.

Exhibit No. 33 is a photostat of a letterhead of the National Peoples Committee Against Hearst on which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a member.

EXHIBIT No. 33

Roger N. Baldwin
 Mrs. Clinton M. Barr
 Bruce Bliven
 LeRoy E. Bowman
 Eleanor Brannan
 Winifred L. Chappell
 Dr. George A. Coe
 Margaret Cowell
 Malcolm Cowley
 Dorothy Detzer
 Prof. H. P. Fairchild
 Joseph Freeman
 Varian Fry
 C. W. Fine
 Francis J. Gorman

Lem Harris
 Clarence Hathaway
 Harold Hickerson
 Rep. Fred H. Hildebrandt
 Rev. John Haynes Holmes
 Dr. Clarence V. Howell
 Rev. William Lloyd Imes
 Gardner Jackson
 Edwin C. Johnson
 Carol King
 Freda Kirchwey
 Corliss Lamont
 William W. Lockwood, Jr.
 Robert Morris Lovett
 Grace Lumpkin

Ferdinand Lundberg
 Vito Marcantonio
 Ernest L. Meyer
 Bruce Minton
 Charlotte Moskowitz
 Jessie Lloyd O'Connor
 Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
 Prof. Paul P. Rogers
 Prof. Margaret Schlauch
 Prof. Robert K. Speer
 Maxwell S. Stewart
 Eldred C. Vanderbilt
 Oswald Garrison Villard
 Dr. Harry F. Ward
 Prof. Colston E. Warne

NATIONAL PEOPLES COMMITTEE AGAINST HEARST
OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

268 Fourth Avenue, Room 701, New York, N. Y.

Algonquin 4-9784

[A campaign to organize the widespread sentiment of the people of this country to stop the un-American activities of William Randolph Hearst, chief exponent of war and Fascism]

MARCH 16, 1937.

Mr. FRANK SPENCER,
184 West Washington Street, Room 808,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR FRANK SPENCER: During the last month or so, we were so completely taken up by the Eastern Seaboard Legislative Conference in Washington, we were unable to keep up with the anti-Hearst work. No report of your attempt to organize a Peoples Committee Against Hearst has come to my attention. I would like very much to know what success if any you have had.

We realize, of course, that other issues are more pressing at the moment, but we do not feel the anti-Hearst work can be neglected completely. That is one of the reasons we have organized the National Peoples Committee Against Hearst, and have gotten up some material, samples of which I am again enclosing.

We need to devote some attention to Hearst both as a warning to him and as an aid to us to be in a position for action should it be necessary. A minimum distribution of the material we have issued is essential wherever there are Hearst papers. I would very much appreciate your attention in this matter as soon as possible and your sending us your initial order for material.

Sincerely yours,

SAM MAXON.

AND TWENTY-EIGHTH

That said Lovett did sign the "call" for the second congress of the League of American Writers.

Exhibit No. 34 is a reproduction of page 25 of the New Masses of May 4, 1937, on which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a signer of the afore-mentioned "call."

The League of American Writers was organized in 1935 at the call of a group of well-known communists, including Earl Browder, and with the issuance of a manifesto which was ultra-revolutionary in its statement.

The Dies committee and the interdepartmental committee have found that the American League of Writers was a subversive communist organization.

EXHIBIT NO. 34

FOR A NATIONAL WRITERS' CONGRESS

Twenty-three well-known authors point to the world situation, and ask action

A MANIFESTO AND A CALL

Today in America there are signs of a literary revival that may resemble or surpass that of the period from 1912 to 1916—the period of the "poetry renaissance" and the "revolt against the genteel tradition." Those of us who remember the hopeful activity of those years can also remember how it was cut short by the War. And we can see that the promise of the 1930's is threatened in a still more definite fashion.

The fascist powers are trying to impose their system on the rest of Europe and ultimately on the world. Japan, Germany, and Italy are at war without having declared war. After the opening skirmishes in Manchuria and Ethiopia, Spain is the first real battlefield in a civil and international conflict that is certain to recur elsewhere. If the fascists are allowed to win in Spain, then France or

Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union is likely to suffer the next attack. It is hard to see how the United States can keep out of the war once it begins on a world scale.

And there is vastly more at stake, even for writers, than a mere literary revival. Spain is showing us—or rather Mussolini and Hitler and Franco are showing us in Spain—that art galleries, libraries, museums, archives, research laboratories, all the monuments and tools of culture, are subject to destruction along with their staffs of scholars and scientists and the living public for which they exist.

In our own country, fascism is still afraid to wear a uniform. Against it there has been an impressive rallying of the forces that favor democracy. American labor—the strongest of these forces—is organizing itself for what is really the first time. And this rebirth of the American labor movement is connected with the new stirrings in literature—not as cause and effect, but rather as two parallel manifestations of the same progressive forces.

But the growth of the labor movement is being and will be resisted. The bankers and industrialists will fight to keep their control of American life. They will get help from the courts, they will call out the militia, they will have the newspapers to help them in molding public opinion. Fascism will be encouraged and financed as an effective means of "keeping labor in its place." Even war will be used—it has been so used already—as the best way of breaking strikes.

Under a fascist regime, literature will fare no better than labor. Fascism is against the personal and the professional interests of writers. It means censorship, it means the substitution of dogmas for the ideas that are a writer's stock in trade. It means that the economics of scarcity is applied to the intellectual world as well as the business world, so that the audience for books and plays—already much too small—is further reduced by arbitrary limitation. And fascism means a sharper division between social classes and a closing of the careers that are still open to talent.

Here is an issue of immediate concern to writers.

The growth and diffusion of leisure, wealth, taste, education—until they reach the whole people—are to the advantage of writers both individually and as a profession. The interests of writers are identical with those of the innumerable people who compose their potential audience. Further than this, literature has always been deeply enriched by reflecting the social hopes and passions of its own time. This is the historical charter for the freedom and greatness of our literature.

We are not advancing these ideas as fixed theories that have to be accepted on pain of intellectual excommunication. On the contrary, we believe that they should be discussed among writers as freely and widely as possible. We believe that many other ideas concerning their technical and professional problems should be discussed at the same time. And that is one of the reasons why we are issuing invitations to a national congress of American writers.

Such a congress is long overdue. The need for it has already been expressed by regional congresses of midwestern and western writers. Other writers meeting regionally are agreed that such efforts must be unified on a national scale, and the League of American Writers is therefore sponsoring such a congress.

As one result of this congress, we should hope to see the establishment of a national organization of American writers. We suggest that the aims of such an organization should be:

First, to provide a center for the cultural activities of American writers in general, and a link between writers now separated by age or place of residence;
Second, to help in raising cultural standards by the discussion of literary problems;

Third, to arrange lectures and conferences and issue a magazine;

Fourth, to maintain friendly relations with the writers of other countries by contact with their own organizations and also by encouraging the translation of important works;

Fifth, to defend the political and social institutions that make for peace and encourage a healthy culture—and specifically to defend the democratic rights to education, to freedom of thought and expression;

Sixth, to effect an alliance for cultural defense between American writers and all progressive forces in the nation.

We therefore invite writers of professional standing who agree generally with our aims, to take part in a National Writers' Congress to be held in New York City during June 4, 5, and 6, 1937.

Signed: Newton Arvin, Van Wyck Brooks, Erskine Caldwell, Malcolm Cowley, Waldo Frank, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, John Howard

Lawson, Robert Morse Lovett, Archibald MacLelish, Claude McKay, Vincent Sheean, Upton Sinclair, George Soule, Genevieve Taggard, Jean Starr Untermeyer, Carl Van Doren, Ella Winter, Paul De Krull, Donald Ogden Stewart, Lewis Mumford, Clifford Odets, Marc Connelly.

AND TWENTY-NINTH

That said Lovett did act as a member of the advisory board of the Communist-front organization which was known as the American Student Union.

Exhibit No. 35 is a reproduction of the back page of an official circular of the American Student Union on which the name of Robert Morse Lovett appears as a member of the organization's advisory board.

The Dies committee has found unanimously that the American Student Union was a Communist-front organization. Joseph P. Lash, former executive secretary of the American Student Union, recently appeared before an executive session of the Dies committee and admitted that the organization was under the complete control of the Communists.

EXHIBIT No. 35

The American Student Union, aligning itself with labor and other progressive groups, urges united effort to maintain peace and liberty and to extend economic welfare. We stand for a realistic, fearless educational system to meet the challenge of the present day.

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Roger Baldwin	Francis Gorman	Alexander Meiklejohn
Algernon Black	Louis Hacker	Reinhold Niebuhr
Van Wyck Brooks	Julius Hochman	Norman Thomas
George S. Counts	Quincy Howe	Mrs. Bertha Pool Weyl
Mrs. Ethel Clyde	Charles Hendley	Goodwin Watson
Mary Fox	Freda Kirchwey	
Waldo Frank	Robert Morse Lovett	

(Perforating rule)

I am interested in the American Student Union. Please send me more information.

I wish to join the American Student Union and enclose \$.50 in annual dues. (\$.25 for high school students.)

I wish to join the American Student Union and subscribe to The Student Advocate, its monthly magazine, at annual rate of \$1.00. (\$.75 for high school students.)

Name
Address
School Class

Address all communications to the AMERICAN STUDENT UNION, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

AND THIRTIETH

That said Robert Morse Lovett did address a letter to the Communist Party's weekly magazine, New Masses, in which he charged that the President and the Secretary of State were under the domination of a "nest of Fascist sympathizers in the State Department."

Exhibit No. 36 is a reproduction of the afore-mentioned letter which Robert Morse Lovett addressed to the New Masses.

EXHIBIT No. 36

READERS' FORUM

"AMERICA'S GUILT IN SPAIN"

TO THE NEW MASSES:

I agree with New Masses that in respect to Spain the guilt of the United States is the guilt of Cain. I do not agree in blaming this guilt on an act of Congress—or on the Constitution, or on the Declaration of Independence. It is perfectly clear that in this case the guilt is personal. When a citizen of this country last January undertook to ship certain parts of airplanes to the Spanish government in accordance with international law and the treaty with Spain of 1899, the President used his position to bawl him out personally, and used his power, which was then considerable, to force through Congress a resolution ignoring the sanctity of treaties, betraying the cause of a friendly democracy, and giving aid to the bloodiest exponent of fascism which the world has yet seen, beside whom Hitler and Mussolini with all their good will to slaughter look like pikers. Later the administration secured an amendment to the Neutrality Law legalizing its application to a civil war, while refusing to enforce it in the clear case of the foreign war waged by Italy and Germany.

I agree with New Masses in holding that the advocates of neutrality have a special responsibility for the guilt of the United States in Spain. It was under cover of the sentiment which they fostered for keeping the United States out of war that the administration was able to capture and misuse the law which they left carelessly lying around. I hold that the advocates of collective action also have a responsibility for the disgrace of their country. It seems clear that the initiative of the President, in the case of Spain was the result of his fondness for collective action—the desire to associate himself with England, France, and twenty-five other nations in a policy of nonintervention. It may be admitted, however, that, for the most part, the advocates of peace whether by the isolationist or the collective-security route are innocent of sinister intention in acquiescing in a policy which has assisted in the sheer murder of thousands of noncombatants in accordance with Franco's method of making war. The guilt lies with the inconsistency of the President, who in November 1936 asserted: "We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war war when armed invasion and resulting killing of human beings takes place." It lies with the cynical indifference of Secretary Hull, who asks blandly, "How do I know that the bombs exported to Italy and Germany are used in Spain?" It lies above all with the nest of fascist sympathizers in the State Department, now exposed by Messrs. Pearson and Allen; Dunn, Moffat, Hackworth, and Moore—in whose adroit hands Roosevelt and Hull have been, up to the present, something less resilient than putty. I agree with New Masses that the immediate necessity, in the name of national honor and human decency, can be met by the President in lifting the embargo against Spain.

Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT.

AND THIRTY-FIRST

That said Lovett did join with a group of well-known Communists and Communist fellow travelers in a public statement which praised the form of government in the Soviet Union.

Exhibits Nos. 37-39 are reproductions of the aforementioned public statement as it was published in the magazine Soviet Russia Today in September 1939. On Exhibit No. 38, the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a signer of the aforementioned public statement.

EXHIBIT No. 37

TO ALL ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

(The text of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-Fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans)

One of the greatest problems confronting all those engaged in the struggle for democracy and peace, whether they be liberals, progressives, trade unionists, or others, is how to unite their various forces so as to achieve victory for their common goals. The Fascists and their allies are well aware that democracy will win

if its supporters are united. Accordingly, they are intent on destroying such unity at all costs.

On the international scene the Fascists and their friends have tried to prevent a united antiaggression front by sowing suspicion between the Soviet Union and other nations interested in maintaining peace.

On the domestic scene the reactionaries are attempting to split the democratic front by similar tactics. Realizing that here in America they cannot get far with a definitely pro-fascist appeal, they strive to pervert American antifascist sentiment to their own ends. With the aim of turning antifascist feeling against the Soviet Union they have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the U. S. S. R. and the totalitarian states are basically alike. By this strategy they hope to create dissension among the progressive forces whose united strength is a first necessity for the defeat of fascism.

Some sincere American liberals have fallen into this trap and unwittingly aided a cause to which they are essentially opposed. Thus, a number of them have carelessly lent their signatures to the recent manifesto issued by the so-called Committee for Cultural Freedom. This manifesto denounces in vague, undefined terms all forms of "Dictatorship" and asserts that the Fascist states and Soviet Russia equally menace American institutions and the democratic way of life.

While we prefer to dwell on facts rather than personalities, we feel it is necessary to point out that among the signers of this manifesto are individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government, and it is precisely these people who are the initiators and controllers of the committee.

A number of other committees have been formed which give lip service to democracy and peace while actually attacking the Soviet Union and aiding reaction. Honest persons approached by such committees should scrutinize their aims very carefully and support only those groups genuinely interested in preserving culture and freedom and refusing to serve as instruments for attacking the Soviet Union or aiding fascism in any other way.

The undersigned do not represent any committee or organization, nor do they propose to form one. Our object is to point out the real purpose behind all these attempts to bracket the Soviet Union with the Fascist states, and to make it clear that Soviet and Fascist policies are diametrically opposed. To this end we should like to stress ten basic points in which Soviet socialism differs fundamentally from totalitarian fascism.

1. The Soviet Union continues as always to be a consistent bulwark against war and aggression, and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order.

2. It has eliminated racial and national prejudice within its borders, freed the minority peoples enslaved under the Tsars, stimulated the development of the culture and economic welfare of these peoples, and made the expression of anti-Semitism or any racial animosity a criminal offense.

3. It has socialized the means of production and distribution through the public ownership of industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

4. It has established nationwide socialist planning, resulting in increasingly higher living standards and the abolition of unemployment and depression.

5. It has built the trade unions, in which almost 24,000,000 workers are organized, into the very fabric of its society.

6. The Soviet Union has emancipated woman and the family, and has developed an advanced system of child care.

7. From the viewpoint of cultural freedom, the difference between the Soviet Union and the Fascist countries is most striking. The Soviet Union has effected one of the most far-reaching cultural and educational advances in all history and among a population which at the start was almost three-fourths illiterate. Those writers and thinkers whose books have been burned by the Nazis are published in the Soviet Union. The best literature from Homer to Thomas Mann, the best thought from Aristotle to Lenin, is available to the masses of the Soviet people, who themselves actively participate in the creation of culture.

8. It has replaced the myths and superstitions of old Russia with the truths and techniques of experimental science, extending scientific procedures to every field, from economics to public health. And it has made science and scientific study available to the mass of the people.

9. The Soviet Union considers political dictatorship a transitional form and has shown a steadily expanding democracy in every sphere. Its epoch-making new constitution guarantees Soviet citizens universal suffrage, civil liberties, the

right to employment, to leisure, to free education, to free medical care, to material security in sickness and old age, to equality of the sexes in all fields of activity, and to equality of all races and nationalities.

10. In relation to Russia's past, the country has been advancing rapidly along the road of material and cultural progress in ways that the American people can understand and appreciate.

The Soviet Union has an economic system different from our own. But Soviet aims and achievements make it clear that there exists a sound and permanent basis in mutual ideals for cooperation between the U. S. A. and the USSR on behalf of world peace and the security and freedom of all nations.

Accordingly, the signers of this letter urge Americans of whatever political persuasion to stand firmly for close cooperation in this sphere between the United States and Soviet Russia, and to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period in the affairs of mankind.

EXHIBITS Nos. 38 AND 39

Among the 400 Signers of the Open Letter Are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Dr. Thomas Addis, professor of medicine, Leland Stanford University. | Kyle Crichton, editorial staff of Collier's Weekly. |
| Helen Alfred, executive director, National Public Housing Conference. | Miriam Allen de Ford, writer. |
| Prof. Newton Arvin, professor of English, Smith College. | Paul de Krull, writer. |
| Dr. Charles S. Bacon, honorary president, American Russian Institute, Chicago, Ill. | Pietro di Donato, writer. |
| Frank C. Baneroff, editor, Social Work Today. | William F. Dodd, Jr., chairman, Anti-Nazi Literature Committee. |
| Maurice Becker, artist. | Stanley D. Dodge, University of Michigan. |
| Louis P. Birk, editor, Modern Age Books, Inc. | Prof. Dorothy Douglas, department of economics, Smith College. |
| T. A. Blason, research associate, Foreign Policy Association. | Muriel Draper, writer. |
| Alice Stone Blackwell, suffragist, writer. | Prof. L. C. Dunn, Professor of Zoology, Columbia University. |
| Marc Blitzstein, composer. | Prof. Haakon Chevalier, professor of French, University of California. |
| Anita Block, Theatre Guild play-reader. | Prof. George B. Cressoy, chairman of the department of geology and Geography, Syracuse University. |
| Stirling Bowen, poet. | Harriet G. Eddy, library specialist. |
| Richard Boyer, staff writer, The New Yorker. | Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology, New York University. |
| Millen Brand, writer. | Kenneth Fearing, poet. |
| Simon Breines, architect. | Prof. Mildred Fairchild, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College. |
| Robert Briffault, writer. | Alice Withrow Field, writer. |
| Prof. Dorothy Brewster, assistant professor of English, Columbia University. | Sara Bard Field, writer. |
| Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, associate professor of English, New York University. | William O. Field, Jr., chairman of the board, American Russian Institute. |
| Fielding Burke, writer. | Irving Fineman, writer. |
| Katherine Doveaux Blake, teacher. | Majoria Fischer, writer. |
| Meta Berger, writer, widow of the first Socialist Congressman. | Angel Flores, writer, critic. |
| Prof. Robert A. Brady, professor of economics, University of California. | Waldo Frank, writer. |
| J. E. Bromberg, actor. | Wanda Gag, artist. |
| Bessie Beatty, writer. | Hugo Gellert, artist. |
| Vera Caspary, scenario writer. | Robert Gessner, Department of English, New York University. |
| Maria Cristina Chambers, of the Authors' League. | Prof. Willystine Goodsell, associate professor of education (retired), Columbia University. |
| Prof. Robert Chambers, research professor of biology, New York University. | Mortimer Graves, of the American Council of Learned Societies. |
| Harold Clurman, producer. | Dr. John H. Gray, economist, former president of the American Economics Association. |
| Robert M. Coates, writer. | William Gropper, artist. |
| Lester Cohen, writer. | Maurice Halperin, associate editor, "Books Abroad." |

- Earl P. Hanson, explorer, writer.
 Prof. Samuel N. Harper, professor of Russian language and institutions, Chicago University.
 Rev. Thomas L. Harris, nat'l executive secretary, American League for Peace and Democracy.
 Dashiell Hammett, writer.
 Ernest Hemingway.
 Granville Hicks, writer.
 Prof. Norman E. Himes, Department of Sociology, Colgate University.
 Charles J. Hendley, President Teachers' Union of the City of New York.
 Leo Huberman, writer.
 Langston Hughes, poet.
 Agatha Illes, writer.
 Rev. Otis G. Jackson, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Flint, Michigan.
 Sam Jaffe, actor.
 Orrick Johns, poet.
 Matthew Josephson, writer.
 George Kauffman, playwright.
 Prof. Alexander Kaun, associate professor of Slavic languages, University of California.
 Fred C. Kelly, writer.
 Rockwell Kent, artist.
 Dr. John A. Kingsbury, social worker administrative consultant, W. P. A.
 Beatrice Kinkadd, writer.
 Lincoln E. Kirstein, ballet producer.
 Arthur Koher, playwright.
 Alfred Kroymborg, poet.
 Edward Lamb, lawyer.
 Dr. Corliss Lamont, writer, lecturer.
 Margaret I. Lamont, sociologist, writer.
 J. J. Lankes, artist.
 Jay Leyda, cinema critic.
 John Howard Lawson, playwright.
 Emil Lengyel, writer, critic.
 Prof. Max Lerner, professor of government, Williams College.
 Meridel LeSueur, writer.
 Meyer Levin, writer.
 Prof. Charles W. Lightbody, Department of Government and History, St. Lawrence University.
 Robert Morris Lovett, Governor of the Virgin Islands, and editor of "The New Republic."
 Prof. Halford E. Luccock, Yale University Divinity School.
 Katherine DuPré Lumpkin, writer.
 Klaus Mann, lecturer, writer, son of Thomas Mann.
 Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, associate professor of History of Literature, Harvard University.
 Dr. Anita Marburg, Department of English, Sarah Lawrence College.
 Dr. George Marshall, economist.
 Aline MacMahon, actress.
 Clifford T. McAvoy, Instructor, Department of Romance Languages, College of the City of New York.
 Prof. V. J. McGill, professor of philosophy, Hunter College.
 Prof. Robert McGregor, Reed College.
 Ruth McKenney, writer.
 Darwin J. Meserole, lawyer.
 Prof. Herbert A. Miller, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College.
 Harvey O'Connor, writer.
 Clifford Odets, playwright.
 Shaemus O'Sheel, writer, critic.
 Mary White Ovington, social worker.
 S. J. Perelman, writer.
 Dr. John P. Peters, Department of Internal Medicine, Yale University Medical School.
 Dr. Emily M. Pierson, physician.
 Walter N. Polakov, engineer.
 Prof. Alan Porter, professor of German, Vassar College.
 George D. Pratt, Jr., agriculturist.
 John Hyde Preston, writer.
 Samuel Putnam, writer.
 Prof. Paul Radin, professor of anthropology, University of California.
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, professor of industrial engineering, Columbia University.
 Bernard J. Reis, accountant.
 Bertha C. Reynolds, social worker.
 Lynn Riggs, playwright.
 Col. Raymond Robins, former head of American Red Cross in Russia.
 William Rollins, Jr., writer.
 Harold J. Rome, composer.
 Ralph Roeder, writer.
 Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, former head Jewish Joint Distribution Board.
 Eugene Schoen, architect.
 Prof. Margaret Schlauch, associate professor of English, New York University.
 Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, professor of government, Williams College.
 Prof. Vida D. Scudder, professor emeritus of English, Wellesley College.
 George Seldes, writer.
 Vincent Sheean, writer.
 Viola Brothers Shore, scenario writer.
 Herman Shumlin, producer.
 Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, assistant professor of English literature, Harvard University.
 Irina Skariatina, writer.
 Dr. F. Tredwell Smith, educator.
 Dr. Stephenson Smith, president Oregon Commonwealth Federation.
 Hester Sondergaard, actress.
 Isobel Walker Soule, writer, editor.
 Lionel Stander, actor.
 Christina Stead, writer.
 A. E. Steig, artist.
 Alfred K. Stern, housing specialist.
 Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Department of Sociology, Columbia University.
 Donald Ogden Stewart, writer.

- Maxwell S. Stewart, associate editor, "The Nation."
 Paul Strand, producer and photographer.
 Prof. Dirk J. Struik, professor of mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 Robert Tasker, scenario writer.
 C. Fayette Taylor, aeronautical engineer, head of Automotive Labs., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 James Thurber, artist, writer.
 Rebecca Janney Timbres, social worker, writer.
 Jean Starr Untermeyer, poet.
 Louis Untermeyer, poet.
 Mary van Kleeck, economist, associate director, International Industrial Relations Institute.
 Stuyvesant van Veen, artist.
 J. Raymond Walsh, economist.
 Dr. William Henry Walsh, physician.
 Prof. Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian ethics, Union Theological Seminary.
 Lynd Ward, artist.
 Morris Watson, New York Newspaper Guild.
 Clara Weatherwax, writer.
 Max Weber, artist.
 Dr. Gerald Wendt, director of science and education, New York World's Fair.
 Rev. Robert Whitaker, clergyman and lecturer.
 Albert Rhys Williams, writer.
 Dr. William Carlos Williams, writer.
 Ella Winter, writer.
 Richard Wright, writer.
 Art Young, artist.
 Leane Zugsmith, writer.

AND THIRTY-SECOND

That said Robert Morss Lovett did join with a group of well-known Communists and Communist fellow travelers under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union in signing the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union which hailed the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of communism in Russia.

Exhibit No. 40 is a reproduction of a page of signatures from the afore-mentioned Golden Book as it appeared in the Communist magazine Soviet Russia Today in November 1937.

The Dies committee has unanimously found that the Friends of the Soviet Union was a communist front organization.

(Exhibit No. 40 is on file with the committee.)

EXHIBIT No. 40

AND THIRTY-THIRD

That said Lovett did serve as a member of the advisory committee of the League for Mutual Aid.

Exhibit No. 41 is a reproduction of the letterhead of the League for Mutual Aid on which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member of the organization's advisory committee.

With a few exceptions, the members of the afore-mentioned advisory committee are well-known Communists and Communist fellow travelers. The quotation at the top of this exhibit, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," is the famous Communist slogan with which Lenin expressed the social and economic objectives of Communist Russia.

EXHIBIT No. 41

THE LEAGUE FOR MUTUAL AID

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need"

ROOM 2004, 104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone, Tompkins Square 6-6234

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Frank L. Palmer, chairman; Ellen A. Kennan, vice-chairman; Leroy Peterson, treasurer; Adelaide Schulkind, executive secretary; Margaret Ann Bailey, Jacob Baker, John Nicholas Bello, Helian Bernays, Solon De Leon, Justus Ebert, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Stella Hannau, Harry Kelly, Lois MacDonald, I. Radinowsky, Harry Weinberger.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Alabama, Harry H. Willock; California, John Beardsley, Helen Freeman; Colorado, Carl Whitehead; District of Columbia, Abram L. Harris; Connecticut, Jerome Davis, George D. Pratt, Jr.; Illinois, Fay Lewis, Robert Morris Lovett; Massachusetts, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Alfred Baker Lewis; Mary Heaton Vorse; New Jersey, K. C. Lindeman, William L. Nunn; New York, George Baron, Anna N. Davis, William Floyd; Ohio, Wm. Montgomery Brown, Paul James; Oregon, Dr. Marie Equi; Pennsylvania, Alexander Fleischer, Helen Mallory, Harvey O'Connor; South Carolina, Arthur W. Calhoun; Tennessee, Dorothy R. Steele; Wisconsin, George Collins, Margaret Pollitzer; England, E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Helen Black, Jennie Carliph, Ida Epstein, Eva Olin, James Harris, Elsie Kelly, Minnie Lowensohn, Nathan Marer, Fannie S. Nel, John Reiner.

Harry Weinberger, Attorney.

"Here at last is the last of what I owe you and I want to thank you for your patience and for lending me the money in the first place. I had just finished 8 years' stay in prison for the crime of free-speech. I was badly in need of money to live on till I could get a job, and also for tools for my trade, which were lost when I was arrested. My friends were hard pressed, but one of them suggested the League. Your ready and generous help is something I shall never forget. I suppose you get many letters like this?

Yes, we get a great many letters like this—liberals and radicals of all shades of opinion constantly come for help to the League For Mutual Aid. Loans—without interest or red tape. Jobs—without a fee. Personal services of every kind. Their needs are often desperate—they are always pressing.

For example, what would you do if you were an active worker for some unpopular cause and found yourself boycotted from jobs? Or, if you were a Negro who had to battle with the color prejudice in seeking a livelihood in these days of keenest competition? Or if, you were a free-lance artist and became seriously ill, with a wife and children dependent upon your support?

It is from such people, all over the country, that our requests come—people who have no place else they can go in moments of emergency and distress. And the demands for our help grow greater every day.

Attached to this letter is detailed information about the League's aims and activities. It will take you only a few moments to read it. Please take the time to do so. We know your sympathies will be touched, and we earnestly hope you will want to join with us in carrying on this urgently needed work. By sending your check, at once, for the \$5 annual membership, or more if you are able, you will be keeping alive an organization so vitally necessary to those who have no place else they can go.

Do not fail us, please.

Yours for mutual aid,

For the Executive Committee.

AND THIRTY-FOURTH

That said Lovett did serve as a member of the board of advisory editors of the magazine, *Champion of Youth*, an official publication of the Young Communist League.

Exhibit No. 42 is a reproduction of the title page of the August 1936 issue of the afore-mentioned publication showing the name of Robert Morris Lovett as an advisory editor, together with such prominent Communists as Jack Conroy and Grace Lumpkin.

EXHIBIT No. 42

CHAMPION OF YOUTH

Vol. 1, August 1936, Number 3

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Board of Editors: John Ames, Joseph Cohen, Angelo Herndon, M. B. Schnapper, Roger Chase, Beryl Gilman, Sofie Juried, James Wechsler, Jane Whitbread.

Advisory Editors: Robert Moras Lovett, Senator L. J. Frazier, Jack Conroy, William Rollins, Grace Phelps, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Grace Lumpkin, C. Hartley Grattan, Dr. Frankwood Williams, Kenneth Gould.

Opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of the editors.
(Balance illegible.)

AND THIRTY-FIFTH

That said Lovett did sign a letter defending the presence of Communists on the governing board of the American Civil Liberties Union after the Union had held that Communists were ineligible in view of the Communist position on civil liberties.

Exhibit No. 43 is a photostat of an article from the Daily Worker of March 19, 1940, in which the name of Robert Moras Lovett appears as a signer of the afore-mentioned letter.

EXHIBIT NO. 43

TEXT OF LETTER BY 17 LIBERAL LEADERS TO THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

[From the Daily Worker, March 19, 1940]

(Following is the text of the open letter signed by 17 prominent liberals condemning the action of the executive board of the American Civil Liberties Union in barring Communists from office and membership on the ACLU national committee:)

The open letter states:

"We appeal publicly to the American Civil Liberties Union to rescind its recent purge resolution as unworthy of its traditions and incompatible with its principles.

"In the past, loyalty to the Bill of Rights in America has been the sole requirement imposed by the Civil Liberties Union on its members and its officers, and this should continue as always to be its only criterion. In the two decades of its existence the Union has concentrated its energies on one job and one job alone—the defense of civil liberties at home. It has steadfastly refused to go beyond that task. It has resisted, as inconsistent with its fundamental aims, any attempt to involve it in questions concerning civil liberties abroad or forms of government. As a result, it has had the broadest kind of support from persons holding all sorts of divergent political views and has kept its ranks undivided by questions with no direct bearing on its purposes. During those twenty years its enemies would have been happy at any time to divert the energies of the Union from defense of civil rights at home to endless debate on events abroad. They seem to have succeeded at last.

"We believe that by the purge resolution the American Civil Liberties Union encourages the very tendencies it was intended to fight. It sets an example less liberal organizations will not be slow to imitate. It places the prestige of our foremost defender of civil liberties behind the idea that Communists or Communist sympathizers or that infinitely extensible category of 'fellow-travellers' are properly to be barred from certain types of offices and treated as less than first-class citizens.

"The resolution 'regards it as inappropriate' for any persons to serve on the governing committees or the staff of the Civil Liberties Union 'who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations and connections indicates his support of such a principle.' This category, according to the resolution, includes not only Communist, Nazi, or Fascist parties but 'native organizations with obvious

antidemocratic objectives or practices, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, Christian Front, and others.'

"These standards are extremely loose and broad. When the Civil Liberties Union opposed the original resolution for the Dies Committee investigation, it objected properly that the terms of that resolution were 'dangerously vague.' But the categories now established by the Civil Liberties Union itself are vague enough to satisfy Dies himself and far more dangerous because they come from an organization whose function is to defend civil liberties.

"The real effect of this resolution is to give the Union an opportunity to purge itself of Communists and those suspected of any sympathy with Communists. The references to Nazis and Ku Kluxers and Silver Shirts can hardly be taken seriously since, unlike the Communists, they have never fought for civil liberties in this country. They do not believe in civil liberty here or anywhere else, now or at any other time.

"They would no more join the Civil Liberties Union than they would the B'nai B'rith or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Union, by 'barring' them from office, has taken a less than momentous step.

"Furthermore, this resolution, like the type of 'loyalty' legislation the Union has fought so often, does not confine itself to members of the Communist Party. It applies to all those who support 'totalitarian dictatorship' in any country. What is a totalitarian dictatorship? Is a war-time France, with its concentration camps, and its rigid controls of fundamental rights, democratic or totalitarian? And is not the American Civil Liberties Union necessarily ruling out those faithful Catholics who, following the policy laid down by their Church, approve the Fascist regimes in Spain and Italy?

"The word 'support' is never too clear, but what is one to say of the reference to any person who 'by his public declarations and connections indicates his support of such a principle.' What is meant by 'connections' and what are sufficient 'indications'? What are 'native organizations with obvious antidemocratic objectives or practices'? What is 'obvious' to one man may well be obscure to another. Many of our greatest newspapers have in the past few years denounced the Democratic Party under Franklin D. Roosevelt for 'obvious antidemocratic objectives' and the President has often been accused, as have many Presidents before him, of antidemocratic 'practices.' On the other hand, would a stockholder in a corporation given to obviously undemocratic practices be barred by this resolution, a stockholder in Girdler's Republic Steel, for instance?

"The phrasing of the resolution is dangerous, its context is worse. The Civil Liberties Union was founded in 1920. The Soviet Union was established in 1917, and with it the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' We are told that Communists are to be barred from office or employment in the Civil Liberties Union because, while fighting for civil liberties in America, they accept their suppression in Soviet Russia. Why then, did the Civil Liberties Union wait until 1940 before seeking to bar them?

"The answer, the Civil Liberties Union said in a letter to its friends, 'is to be found in the entirely new direction of the Communist movement since the Nazi-Soviet pact.' But civil liberties within the Soviet Union were no different before the pact than after. One could not print an opposition paper in Moscow in August 1939 before the pact, or after it, in September 1939. In any case, what does the pact have to do with American civil liberties?

"Could it be that the majority of the National Committee and Board of Directors of the Civil Liberties Union is taking sides in the developing European conflict? Is their real objection an objection to the position of the Soviet Union in that conflict? Has that question anything to do with the need for defending civil liberties in America?

The phrasing of the purge resolution is so wide as to make the Civil Liberties Union seem a fellow-traveller of the Dies Committee. Its context is such as to make it seem that the Civil Liberties Union has been unable to keep its head in the kind of crisis that is the greatest danger to civil liberties.

"The Civil Liberties Union is too valuable an organization and too precious a symbol. We ask it to turn back from this far-reaching step away from its traditions. We call upon it to rescind the purge resolution. We urge it to confine itself—as in the past—to civil liberties at home and leave international politics to other organizations.

"The Civil Liberties Union has often found it necessary to mobilize public sentiment in order to defend civil liberties. Never before has it been necessary to mobilize public sentiment in order to defend civil liberties within the Civil Liberties Union.

"The Civil Liberties Union was formed in 1920 to fight post-war hysteria. It would be a great pity if it were now to become the victim of pre-war hysteria."

SIGNERS OF LETTER

List of signers of letter follows:

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Governor-General of the Virgin Islands.
 Ex-Congressman John T. Bernard, of Minnesota.
 Professor Frans Boas, Columbia University.
 Howard Costigan, Executive Director of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.
 Theodore Dreiser, Author.
 Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University.
 Professor Robert S. Lynd, Columbia.
 Carey McWilliams, California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing.
 Rev. Dr. A. T. Mollegan, Alexandria Theological Seminary.
 Professor C. Fayette Taylor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
 Charles S. Ascher, Social Science Research Council.
 William T. Cochran, Baltimore.
 Henry T. Hunt, Department of Interior.
 Gardiner Jackson, Legislative Counsel, Labor's Non-Partisan League.
 I. F. Stone, Associate Editor, The Nation.
 Maxwell S. Stewart, Associate Editor, The Nation.
 James Wechsler, Assistant Editor, The Nation.

AND THIRTY-SIXTH

That said Robert Morss Lovett did serve on the arrangements committee for a parade in Chicago in which Communists and Communist organizations predominated.

Exhibit No. 44 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of August 30, 1937, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member of the arrangements committee for the afore-mentioned parade.

EXHIBIT No. 44

[From the Daily Worker, August 30, 1937, p. 2]

CHICAGO UNITED FRONT MARCHES FOR PEACE

COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, YOUTH GROUPS, CIO, LANGUAGE ORGANIZATIONS, IWO,
 JOIN IN JANE ADDAMS PEACE MARCH

(Daily Worker Midwest Bureau)

CHICAGO, ILL., Aug. 29.—In a broadly represented peace demonstration that paraded through Chicago's Loop, heard speakers in the Grant Park Bandshell and witnessed a colorful pageant of folk dancing and music, thousands of people rallied to the slogan "A Living Monument to Jane Addams—The People's Front For Peace."

Many of the speakers paid tribute to the late Hull House director who carried on an incessant campaign for peace during her lifetime. Principal speakers were Mrs. Laura Hughes Lundie of the Women's City Club; Nicholas Fontecchlo, Calumet Director of the SWOC; Mrs. Lillian Canman of the Conference of Jewish Women's Clubs; Rev. Alva Tompkins, Christian Madsen of the Labor Peace Council of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Agnes Nestor of the C. P. of L.; Morris Childs, State Secretary of the Communist Party; Roy Burt of the Socialist Party, and Dr. Erich von Schroeffer, secretary of the German-American League for Culture.

Slogans urging enforcement of the Kellogg Peace Pact and the boycott of aggressor countries were displayed along the entire line of paraders, as well as unity for the Chinese people and for the defeat of fascism in Spain.

EXPLOITING SYSTEM

"Industrial warfare or wars between nations are the products of the exploiting system," said Fontecchlo, in his speech which was read by Jack Rusak. "The toiling masses know that there is no moral or material benefit derived from war. The only ones who want war are the ones who make a profit out of war."

"There are three mad dogs in the world today," continued Fontecchlo's speech, "namely, the governments of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and militarist Japan. Unless we properly mobilize ourselves to check them, blood will not only be shed in parts of Europe and Asia, but another world conflict is imminent. We must act now!"

Dr. Erich Von Schroetter brought the greeting of 10,000 members of the Chicago Branch of the German-American League for Culture, "We are glad that we people of America enjoy freedom of speech, postal secrecy, that we have free labor unions and many rights which are denied to our brothers who live under a dictatorship," he said.

MRS. ROOSEVELT SENDS GREETINGS

Greetings from Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Lundeen, Gov. Elmer Benson of Minnesota, and Senator Pope of Idaho, were read by the chairman, Mrs. Dorothy Blumberg, representing the Women's International League.

"The words war and peace are not mere abstractions," said Morris Childs, "because the peace of the world is threatened. The battle of the Spanish people to preserve democracy and to save their country from Fascist invasion and dismemberment, and the struggle of the Chinese people for their national integrity, are two phases of the same battle against world fascism and for world peace.

"We Americans can, regardless of our divergent opinions on other matters, unite upon a common platform which has only one rallying slogan—For Peace."

Following the speakers, a brilliant dance pageant, produced by Miss Vera Rony and Robert Wolf, assisted by thirty ballet dancers from the Bernice Holmes, Ann Rudolf, and New Dance Schools, accompanied by the singing of Julius Blackman and the recitation of Mark Ashen, portrayed the struggles of the peoples of the world to overcome the forces of war. Groups of Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Swedish, Irish, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Mexican dancers also participated.

Represented at the demonstration were over a hundred organizations including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Conference of Jewish Women's Clubs, Congregational Church, Junior Lodge of Republic Steel, Calumet Council of Women's Auxiliaries of the S. W. O. C., Lodge 66 of the S. W. O. C., Youth Club of East Chicago, Bakers Union No. 2, Painters Union No. 275, State, County, and Municipal Workers No. 30, Social Service Employees, the Epworth League, International Labor Defense, International Workers Order, American League Against War and Fascism, the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, United Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Finnish Workers Club, Lithuanian Women's Educational Society, Czechoslovakian Nationalist Federation, Ukrainian Tollers Organization, Rockford College, Urban League, American Youth Congress, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Parade was led by Rev. Armand Guerrero and Mrs. Dina Ginsburg. Others acting on the arrangements committee were Prof. Robert Morris Lovett, Charles Burton, Thomas McKenna.

AND THIRTY-SEVENTH

That Robert Morris Lovett did participate in a public rally on behalf of the Communist Party's candidate for the Presidency, Earl Browder.

Exhibit No. 45 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of November 3, 1936, on which exhibit the name of Robert Morris Lovett is featured.

EXHIBIT NO. 45

(From the Daily Worker, Nov. 3, 1936)

20,000 CHEER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT GARDEN RALLY

As each of the speakers arose a banner shot out announcing which of the Communist Party's election planks they would discuss. Amter spoke on unemployment; John Little, youth leader on Save the Young Generation; Briehl, Candidate for attorney general, on free the farmers from debt and foreclosures; and so on until all of the planks had been covered.

Other speakers were: Grace Hutchins; Irving Schwab, candidate for judge of General sessions; Julian Sawyer; Bob Minor, who discussed the Party's antiwar plank and state election issues.

During the speaking, attendants on the stage were busy rigging up a giant cash-register for the collection speech.

The highlight of the meeting was Browder's final campaign speech which was broadcast on a national hook-up of the National Broadcasting Company. From the entrance to the stage, the Garden was profusely decorated with American and red flags.

Preceding Browder's speech "Fighting" Bob Minor, Communist gubernatorial candidate, and numerous other Negro and white state Communist candidates addressed the meeting.

More than 3,000 people milled about the entrance on the outside. Cheers rang repeatedly during the meeting, and the enthusiasm was unprecedented.

At every mention of Gov. Landon's name the jammed arena rocked with boos. Throngs of people filed into the mammoth sports arena more than a half hour before the meeting began. Shortly before 7:30 the scarcity of available seats was already noticeable.

A constant din of horns bespoke the enthusiasm of the huge crowd. Here and there confetti sprinkled the air. Cheers for Browder and Ford momentarily shot out from numerous rooting sections organized by groups of students and young workers.

A resounding cheer came from the rapidly filling auditorium when it was announced that the New York State Communist Party had broken an all time record by selling more than 1,300,000 pieces of literature during the election campaign.

The garden was a bevy of impressive decorations and strikingly displayed slogans. Hanging from the balcony down to each side of the stage were pictures of Earl Browder and James W. Ford. In the center of the colorfully draped stage were huge white letters on a red bunting background: "Vote Communist."

Among the slogans were: "Negro and white unite—Fight against discrimination, Jim-crowism, lynching—for full economic, political and social equality for Negroes"; "Support the Spanish People's Front struggle against fascism—for democracy"; "To save democracy, build a People's Front"; "Keep America out of War by keeping war out of the world."

Draped around the balcony still others declared: "Forward to a Farmer-Labor Party—for a united front against hunger, war, and fascism"; "Only the Communist Party is the Party of Socialism."

Dramatizing the Party's slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism," two 20-foot cardboard pictures of the spirit of '76 and the spirit of '36 stood on each side of the stage. The latter contained a picture of a Negro and white worker, and a child.

VOTE COMMUNIST

An aged social service worker in a downtown settlement house said that she "voted in eight Presidential elections, but the Communist campaign is the greatest I ever saw. I am going to vote Communist."

D. Falzick, of 72d St., Brooklyn, a member of the tobacco and confectionery workers' union, said that "this campaign has spread Communist influence tremendously. I'm just waiting for a national Farmer-Labor Party to come along."

H. K. Mash, a union decorator, is going to vote for Browder and Ford because "The Communists can give us a better world to live in."

More than 3,000 people were in the overflow meeting outside the Garden when Browder began to speak.

Robert Morris Lovett, noted liberal of the University of Chicago, arrived in the Garden after police had ordered the doors closed. Unable to gain admittance he joined the overflow throng on 49th Street.

The outdoor meeting was addressed by I. Amter, Johnny Little, Angelo Herndon, Fred Briebl, and Peter Cacchione, all Communist candidates.

Seventeen hundred dollars were collected in bills of large denominations—five dollars and over. The total number of pledges, one dollar bills and change plus the collection at the over-flow meeting was not announced as the Daily Worker went to press last night.

Two Socialists "who believe in the united front" sent their contribution to the platform as did a 21-year-old Socialist who said he "was about to graduate into the Communist Party."

A dollar was contributed by a policeman and the boys and girls at the press table sent up ten dollars.

AND THIRTY-EIGHTH

That said Lovett did participate in a united front conference of the American League Against War and Fascism, in Chicago.

Exhibit No. 46 is a photostatic copy of an announcement of the afore-mentioned united front conference in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears. This announcement is taken from Fight magazine, the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, for February 1937.

EXHIBIT No. 46

[From Fight Magazine, February 1937, p. 15]

CHICAGO, ILL.

A call for a united front conference on Saturday, February 10, and Sunday, February 11, has been issued. Among the signers are: Dr. Arthur G. Falls of the Chicago Urban League; Mrs. Julia I. Felsenthal of the Chicago Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations; Robert Morss Lovett and Dean Curtis W. Reese of the League for Industrial Democracy; B. K. Gebert of the Communist Party; Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Thomas McKenna of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union; Rev. W. B. Waltham of the Socialist Ministers Fellowship; John Werlik of the Metal Polishers Union of the American Federation of Labor.

AND THIRTY-NINTH

That said Lovett did act as a sponsor for the Communist front organization which was known as the Committee to Save Spain and China.

Exhibit No. 47 is a photostatic copy of an announcement of a meeting held under the auspices of the afore-mentioned organization. On this exhibit, the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a sponsor of the organization.

At this point it should be noted that the Communist tactic is to employ the names and prestige of such persons as Bishop Francis McConnell, whose name also appears on this exhibit, for the express purpose of concealing the Communist character of an organization. No one should be misled by the fact that a distinguished Methodist bishop, such as McConnell, frequently appears as an official or a sponsor of Communist front organizations. No more grossly immoral and revolutionary institution has ever been set up in this country than the Commonwealth College at Mena, Ark., and yet Bishop Francis McConnell publicly defended that institution when the Arkansas State Legislature conducted an investigation of it and roundly condemned its gross immorality and communism.

EXHIBIT No. 47

[From The New Masses, November 15, 1938, p. 27]

NO MUNICH FOR SPAIN OR CHINA

Carnegie Hall, Fifty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue, Friday evening, November 11, 8:30 (Armistice Day).

Sponsors: Bishop Francis B. McConnell, Maxwell Anderson, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Rev. Henry Smith Leiper, A. L. Whitney, Van Wyck Brooks, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, George Sherwood Eddy.

Watch your daily newspaper for announcement of speakers.

Auspices Committee to Save Spain and China, Room 1006, 70 Fifth Avenue, AL 4-4375.

Bishop Robert L. Paddock, Chairman; Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, Treasurer. Tickets: 25c, 50c, 83c, \$1.10, \$1.65 at Carnegie Hall Box Office.

AND FORTIETH

That said Robert Morris Lovett did serve as a member of the National Mooney Council of Action, a Communist front organization.

Exhibit No. 48 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of May 12, 1933, in which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a member of the afore-mentioned organization.

Without exception, the members of the National Mooney Council of Action were persons with records of Communist Party membership or substantial collaboration with Communist front organizations.

EXHIBIT No. 48

NATIONAL MOONEY COUNCIL OF ACTION IN SPECIAL CALL TO MEMBERS OF AFL UNIONS

CHICAGO, May 11.—With the National Mooney Council of Action composed of representatives from the scores of labor, political, and fraternal organizations who elected the more than 1,300 delegates to the "Free Tom Mooney Congress" which ended recently in Chicago, efforts will not be concentrated to win the support of the A. F. of L. and of the International Unions affiliated, and of the Socialist Party.

In the main resolution adopted by the Congress, a call was issued to all local unions, all organizations of the unemployed, and local branches of the Socialist Party and of other workers' organizations to affiliate themselves at once with the local Tom Mooney Councils of Action.

DELEGATES REPORTING

Meetings are now being held thruout the U. S. to hear reports of the returning delegates, and their first task—as outlined by the Congress—will be to aid in the preparation and carrying on of local united front conferences with the broadest possible representation, striving to draw in those organizations like the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party which heretofore were insufficiently represented in the fight for Mooney's liberation.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ACTION

The National Mooney Council of Action as constituted by the Congress consists of John Werlik, A. F. of L. metal polishers' local, Chicago; A. Thorpe, General Defense Committee, Chicago; Albert Renner, Proletarian Party, Detroit; George Smirkin, Young People's Socialist League, Chicago; Joshua Kunitz, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; James Egan, A. F. of L. Plasterers' Local, Pittsburgh; Phillip van Gelder, Socialist Party local, Philadelphia; Robert Minor and C. A. Hathaway, Communist Party; William L. Patterson, International Labor Defense; Albert Hanson, Kentucky Miners' Defense (I. W. W.); Frank Borich, National Miners Union; Anthony Chuplis, General Mine Board, United Mine Workers of America, Shenandoah, Pa.; John Metzger, Marine Workers Union, New Orleans, La.

Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; J. P. Cannon, Communist League Left Opposition; Ella Reeve Bloor, National Farmers' Committee for Action, Sioux City, Ia.; Charles Crone, A. F. of L. hod-carriers local, Minneapolis; Trent Longo, A. F. of L. painters local, Cleveland; L. O. Puchot, A. F. of L. Building Trades Council, Des Moines.

Robert Morris Lovett, Chicago, American Civil Liberties Union; James Kodl, Irish-American Labor League, Chicago; Mrs. Sallina Burrell, Progressive Miners Ladies Auxiliary, Gillespie, Ill.; Pat Ansboury, Progressive Miners of America, Benton, Ill.; Louis Weinstein, A. F. of L. painters local, New York; Alex Frazer, Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Ill.; Jack Clark, I. W. W., Chicago; Charles Blome, A. F. L. Conference Board of Molders Unions, St. Louis; Emil Arnold, A. F. L. painters local, Chicago; D. Polindexter, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Chicago; Jesse Taylor, A. F. L. bricklayers local, Buffalo; M. Olay, Free Society Group (anarchists), Chicago; Loula Hyman, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, New York; Jack Kling, Communist Youth League, Chicago; Karl Lore, Unemployed Citizens League, Chicago; A. J. Muste, Conference for Progressive Labor Action, New York; Israel Amter, Natl. Unemployed

Councils, New York; L. B. Scott and Arthur Scott, Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, San Francisco; J. B. Matthews, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York; Joe Weber and Jack Johnstone, Pittsburgh, Trade Union Unity League; and Aline Barnsdall, Los Angeles, elected on request of Tom Mooney.

AND FORTY-FIRST

That said Lovett did aver that he was proud to act as a sponsor for a celebration in honor of the notorious Communist woman leader Ella Reeve Bloor.

Exhibit No. 49 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of July 1, 1939, in which it is pointed out that Robert Morris Lovett wrote that he was proud to sponsor the afore-mentioned celebration, and in which it is also stated that Earl Browder was to be one of the speakers at the celebration.

EXHIBIT No. 40

EARL BROWDER TALKS AT O. P. CHICAGO PICNIC—MOTHER BLOOR ALSO SPEAKS AT JULY 4 COUNTY AFFAIR

[From the Daily Worker Midwest Bureau]

CHICAGO, June 30.—Earl Browder and Mother Bloor will be picnic speakers for the Communist Party on July 4th in Chicago. The two great working class leaders will be main attractions, celebrating Independence Day, and the foundations of America's revolutionary traditions, kept alive today by the fighting workers and the Communist Party against the attacks of reactionary capitalism and fascism.

The picnic will be held at Birutes Grove, 79th Street and Archer Ave.

Advance arrangements for celebrating Mother Bloor's 75th birthday in Chicago forecast a record for that event also. Many prominent women have put their names on the sponsors list for the luncheon in honor of the beloved woman leader, and men also have endorsed it. Robert Morris Lovett wrote that he was proud to be asked to sponsor the celebration. Miss Shaw, a member of the executive committee of the Urban League in Chicago, Mrs. Laura Hellbrun of the Hungarian Ladies Aid, and other women leaders will take part in the reception. The place for Mother Bloor's birthday celebration is the McCormick YWCA, at 1001 No. Dearborn St. The time, 12:30 P. M., July 3rd.

AND FORTY-SECOND

That said Lovett did serve as a sponsor of a Communist meeting at which the former Soviet Ambassador A. A. Troyanovsky spoke on the question of the Moscow purge trials.

Exhibit No. 50 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of March 22, 1938, in which the name of Robert Morris Lovett appears as a sponsor of the aforementioned meeting.

The chairman of this meeting was Corliss Lamont who has for many years been notorious for his collaboration with the Communist Party and its front organizations.

EXHIBIT No. 50

TROYANOVSKY TALKS ON WAR CRISIS THURSDAY

UPTON SINCLAIR MAY TALK VIA PHONE AT MECCA TEMPLE MEETING

A. A. Troyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to the United States, will outline his government's proposals for solving the present international crisis and discuss the connection between the recent trial of the Trotskyist-Bukharinist conspirators and the fascist war drive at a meeting in Mecca Temple Auditorium, 55th St. between 6th and 7th Avenues, Thursday night.

Exceptional importance is attached to the ambassador's talk because of the Soviet Union's appeal last week for an international conference of democratic nations to halt the fascist offensive.

Arrangements have been completed for Upton Sinclair, distinguished American novelist, to address the meeting by transcontinental telephone from his home in Pasadena, the Committee on Sponsors announced yesterday. Mr. Sinclair's letter, explaining his view of the significance of the trial in the Soviet Union, created a sensation when it was published in the Daily Worker and the New Masses recently.

Other speakers at the meeting will be Dr. Edward C. Carter of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Rev. Thomas L. Harris, leading Philadelphia clergyman; Vilhjalmur Stefansson, world-famous Arctic explorer; and James Waterman Wise. Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman of the Committee of Sponsors, will preside.

LIST OF SPONSORS

A complete list of the Committee of Sponsors for the meeting follows: S. John and Anita Block, Louis E. Browne, John Duffy, Prof. Dorothy Douglas, Dr. Wyllystine Goodsell, Francis J. Gorman, Major General William S. Graves, Maurice Hindus, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Judge Julian W. Mack, Mr. and Mrs. George Marshall, Dr. and Mrs. Monroe A. Meyer, Prof. Clyde R. Miller, A. V. Moore, Colonel Raymond Robins, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Isabel Walker Soule, Charles E. Stuart, Congressman Henry G. Tolgan, Mary Van Kleeck, and Lillian D. Wald.

Tickets are available in advance at 114 East 32d St., Room 707; 461 Fourth Ave., Room 403; 56 West 45th St., Room 1203; and the Workers Bookshop, 50 East 18th St.

AND FORTY-THIRD

That said Lovett did serve as a sponsor for the China Aid Council, an auxiliary of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Exhibit No. 51 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a sponsor of the afore-mentioned organization. The article itself indicates that the China Aid Council was an auxiliary of the Communist front which was known as the American League for Peace and Democracy.

EXHIBIT NO. 51

LEADERS IN ALL FIELDS BACK CHINA AID DRIVE

Sponsored by individuals prominent in all walks of life, an Easter drive is to be launched by the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy next Monday, April 11 to 18, inclusive.

Sherwood Eddy, Maxwell Stewart, Dr. Frank Graham, Professors Robert Morss Lovett, and Eugene Staley; Bishop Robert L. Paddock, Francis J. McConnell, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; A. Phillip Randolph, William E. Dodd, Sr., and Dr. Harry F. Ward, are among the sponsors for this campaign for medical aid to China.

The following are the principal stations which will serve as headquarters for the workers in this drive:

22 West 46th Street, Manhattan (Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade).

85 Clarke Street, Brooklyn.

House of Knowledge (Book Store) Boardwalk at Brighton 5th St.

University House, 184 Eldridge.

AND FORTY-FOURTH

That said Lovett did act as a member of the Communist front, which was known as the American Council on Soviet Relations.

Exhibit No. 52 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of July 23, 1938, in which the name of Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member of the aforementioned organization.

EXHIBIT No. 52

[From the Daily Worker, July 23, 1935]

FORM COUNCIL ON RELATIONS WITH U. S. S. R.

MOVE IS LAUNCHED AT MEETING OF 275 FRIENDS OF SOVIET UNION HEADED BY CORLISS AND MARGARET LAMONT

The formation of an American Council on Soviet Relations was announced Thursday night at a dinner conference of 275 friends of the Soviet Union held by the new Council at the Town Hall Club to hear Corliss and Margaret Lamont report on their recent trip to the Soviet Union.

Deploring the great advances made by the U. S. S. R. in economic and political life since their last visit in 1932, Mr. Lamont, head of the American Friends of the Soviet Union, summed up by saying:

"Socialism and its story are just beginning in the Soviet Union. The people are full of confidence and gaiety."

PURPOSES

Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Associate Director of the International Industrial Relations Institute, who acted as chairman of the dinner conference, summed up the purposes of the American Council on Soviet Relations as follows:

1. To promote a wider understanding of the fact that the effects of the Soviet Union in the international field are wholly on the side of the forces of peace and democracy.

2. To clear the air of the confusion caused by hostile propaganda against the Soviet Union and place upon the record the facts regarding the real situation in that country and its achievements in the building of a socialist society.

Explaining the origin of the American Council on Soviet Relations, Miss Van Kleeck said:

"The Council results from the drawing together of a number of people from different professions who are familiar with conditions in the U. S. S. R., and anxious to do their part to increase understanding of Soviet affairs in this country. This group has acted together on a number of occasions during the past year when no existing organization was in a position to undertake the type of meetings and issue the information we felt necessary on specific occasions. For this reason we decided to unite our efforts on a more permanent basis.

"In the international struggle of democracy against fascism, the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union coincide. Progressive forces in our country believe that the fascist offensive can be blocked only through the fullest cooperation of all forces working in the same direction. It is thus more than ever necessary at this time that the people of the United States and the Soviet Union understand each other."

The Council, said Miss Van Kleeck, does not intend to set up any new organizational machinery but will work through existing organizations and act as a medium for the wider dissemination of accurate information about the Soviet Union and its foreign relations, and will undertake only such activities as can be made self-supporting.

Among the members of the American Council on Soviet Relations are:

Corliss Lamont, New York City; Col. Raymond Robins, Brooksville, Fla.; Dr. Henry Sigerist, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. Dorothy Douglas, Northampton, Mass.; Maxwell S. Stewart, New York City; Harriet G. Eddy, Berkeley, Calif.; Miss Mary Van Kleeck, New York City; Prof. Jerome Davis, New Haven, Conn.; Dr. John H. Gray, Washington, D. C.; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Yonkers, New York; Prof. Eduard C. Lindeman, New York City; Prof. Robert Morris Lovett, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Wyllistine Goodsell, New York City; Miss Mary Dublin, New York City; Dr. Mildred Fairchild, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Dr. Thomas Addis, San Francisco, Calif.

AND FORTY-FIFTH

That said Lovett did collaborate with the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights in Michigan.

Exhibit No. 53 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker of January 18, 1937, in which it is stated that Robert Morris Lovett approved the sit-down strikes.

The sit-down strikes represented an importation of Communist labor tactics from France.

EXHIBIT No. 53

CIVIL RIGHTS PARLEY ASKS BLACK'S OUSTER

MICHIGAN CONFERENCE OF 311 ORGANIZATIONS BACKS AUTO STRIKE—ASK PROBE OF GENERAL MOTORS TIES WITH CITY OFFICIALS

(By United Press)

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 17 (UP).—The conference for the Protection of Civil Rights representing 311 Michigan organizations with a total membership of 400,000 today, backed striking automobile workers' demands for the impeachment of Judge Edward D. Black, and the removal of Police Chief James V. Wills of Flint.

Approximately 400 delegates attended a meeting in a hotel ball-room, which was decorated with signs: Reclaim Flint for the United States; oust Judge Black—he desecrated the bench; James Wills, Flint's police chief, must go—his record is one of violence.

The conference asked the Michigan Legislature to investigate the relationship between General Motors and Flint authorities, and asked the U. S. Senate to investigate corporation control of cities as represented in Flint, Mich., abolition of the state police also was demanded in a resolution.

Explaining he was speaking as a General Motors stockholder, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago, told the conference, sit-down strikers have an industrial and economic right to hold the plants if that has not been recognized as a civil right.

Black's impeachment was asked because he owns stock in General Motors and issued an injunction ordering the sit-downers out.

AND FORTY-SIXTH

That said Lovett did act as a member of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

Exhibit No. 54 is a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the aforementioned organization which contains the name of Robert Morss Lovett as one of the organization's members.

With a very few exceptions, the members of this committee listed on the exhibit were identified with the left wing or Communist faction of the American Labor Party which is concentrated in New York City.

EXHIBIT No. 54

NONPARTISAN COMMITTEE FOR THE REELECTION OF CONGRESSMAN VITO MARCANTONIO

1754 Lexington Avenue (Corner 109th Street) New York City

Telephone LEhigh 4-0717

VITO MARCANTONIO, of New York, has been in the forefront of the struggle against social injustice, both in Congress and at home

—*The Nation*, January 1, 1936, Honor Roll

OCTOBER 3, 1936.

"It would be nothing short of a terrible misfortune if Marcantonio were not returned to Congress. His record ought to win him such gratitude as would leave no question concerning an election outcome," Senator Gerald P. Nye wired us. Telegrams and letters pouring in from Marcantonio's home district in lower Harlem, New York, and every section of the country voice similar sentiments.

The reason is to be found in Marcantonio's amazing record. His sponsors know the splendid fight he has made in and out of Congress for preservation of civil liberties, the rights of labor, for adequate social insurance, for a fair amount of relief for the unemployed, for the striking seamen, for silicosis victims. They know of his record of struggle against repressive legislation, child labor, war appropriations, lynching, substandard wages.

We know that you, like those whose names appear on this letter-head, want to see Marcantonio in Congress again. To do that, 35,000 voters in his district must be made aware of the services he has rendered. This requires a tremendous amount of printing, postage, loud speakers, telephones. This in turn requires money to bring this message to their doors.

The dark reactionaries—Hearst, the Liberty Leaguers, the Ku Klux Klansmen, chambers of commerce—have no difficulty in financing the election of their emissaries.

We can only appeal to you and all friends of the progressive causes which are linked with Marcantonio's name; won't *you* to *your* share? You can help keep Marcantonio in Congress with your financial support. Please send your check immediately, made payable to Dr. Henry Neumann, Treasurer.

Sincerely yours,

MORRIS L. ERNST, *Chairman.*

"Marcantonio is the most valuable member of the House, bar none."—Prof. Robert Moras Lovett

OFFICERS

Morris L. Ernst, *Chairman*
Heywood Brown,
Francis X. Glaccone,
Prof. Karl N. Llewellyn,
Vice Chairman
Ambrose Doskow, *Secretary*
Allan Taub, *Asst. Secretary*
Dr. Henry Neumann, *Treasurer.*

SPONSORS

Congressman Thomas R. Amlie
Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes
Dr. Charles A. Beard
Senator Elmer A. Benson
Gen. Smedley Butler
Clarence Darrow
Prof. John Dewey
Congressman Matthew A. Dunn
Francis J. Gorman
Congressman Ernest Lundeen
Senator Luis Munoz Marin
Bishop Francis J. McConuell
Senator Gerald P. Nye
Mary Van Kleeck
Oswald Garrison Villard

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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Dr. Peter F. Amoroso
Sherwood Anderson
Dr. Jacob Auslander
Carleton Beals
Dr. Solon B. Bernstein
George Biddle
Algernon D. Black
Samuel M. Blinken
Bruce Bliven
Frederick A. Blossom
Albert Boni
Leroy E. Bowman
Louis B. Boudin
Dr. Theodore B. Brameld
Henry Brickman
Prof. Paul F. Brissenden

COMMITTEE MEMBERS—CON.

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Alter Brody
Van Wyck Brooks
Elmer Brown
Erskine Caldwell
Eugene P. Connolly
Eleanor Copenhaver
Aaron Copland
Prof. Leonard Covello
Countee Cullen
Prof. Addison T. Cutler
Maurice P. Davidson
Miriam Allen de Ford
Babette Deutsch
Prof. Paul Douglas
Emanuel Eisenberg
Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott
H. C. Engelbrecht
William Feinberg
Robert Ferrari
Abram Flaxer
William Floyd
Waldo Frank
H. Humbert Galliani
Hugo Gellert
Prof. Walter Gellhorn
Joseph Gilbert
James Gilman
Hyman N. Gluckstein
Alfred A. Knopf
Mrs. J. O. Guggenheimer
Arthur H. Harlow, Jr.
Helen M. Harris
Jed Harris
Henry Hart
Arthur Garfield Hays
Josephine Herbst
Hubert O. Herring
Charles H. Houston
Sidney Howard
Ben Howe
Quincy Howe
B. W. Huebsch
Langston Hughes
Albert Hyman
Rabbi Edward L. Israel

COMMITTEE MEMBERS—CON.

Gardner Jackson
Alvin Johnson
William N. Jones
Matthew Josephson
George S. Kaufman
Rockwell Kent
Paul J. Kern
Carol King
Dr. Emanuel Klein
Arthur Kober
Manuel Komroff
Edward Kuntz
John Howard Lawson
Max Lerner
Philip Loeb
Prof. Robert Moras Lovett
Ferdinand Lundberg
William F. Mangoldt
Ernest L. Meyer
Willis R. Morgan
Joseph Murphy
Dr. Charles Muzioento
John Nelson
Bishop Robert L. Paddock
Leroy Peterson
Michael F. Pinto
Nicholas H. Pinto
Rebecca E. Pitts
Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Burton Rascoe
Elmer Rice
Julius Rosenthal
Geraldine Sartin
George Seides
Lee Simonson
John L. Spivak
Rev. William B. Spofford
William Steig
Donald Ogden Stewart
Maxwell S. Stewart
Joseph Taubner
Charles C. Tillinghast
Louise Thompson
Abraham Ungar
James Waterman Wise
Raymond L. Wise

APPENDIX B

EXHIBITS RELATING TO GOODWIN B. WATSON

1. EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARTIN DIES AND JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

Exhibits Nos. 1-6: Photostats of an exchange of correspondence between the Honorable Martin Dies, chairman of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Honorable James Lawrence Fly, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

In his letter to Chairman Fly, Chairman Dies made two general charges against Goodwin Watson, namely, that "Goodwin Watson has been a propagandist for communism and the Soviet Union for many years," and that Watson "has publicly associated himself" with a number of "the front organizations of the Communist Party."

The subsequent exhibits, Nos. 7 to 97, inclusive, are offered as evidence in support of the two general charges cited in the foregoing paragraph.

EXHIBITS NOS. 1-6

[Names on letter head are not decipherable.]
[For immediate release.]

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C., November 18, 1941.

HON. JAMES LAWRENCE FLY,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It has come to my attention that one Goodwin Watson has just been appointed to a very important post in the F. C. C. I understand that Mr. Watson's salary is \$5,600, and further that his title and duties are described as follows: Chief Broadcast Analyst, under general supervision of the Director of Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, is Chief Analyst of radio broadcast emanating from foreign countries, to determine the probable trends of war, the internal morale and conditions of foreign nations, their objectives, and their probable political, economic, or military action, applying to basic data secured from recordings and translations of broadcasts, a knowledge of the political, sociology, cultural, and historical background, or social psychology of the peoples and governments of the foreign countries and correlating such data with current developments in other related fields; to assist in developing procedures and criteria for identifying, indexing and refining pertinent material from the great mass of broadcast recordings; and further directs the work of five supervising analysts.

I am deeply concerned over this appointment as it clearly bears out an observation which I have had occasion to make to the President in recent weeks, namely, that there is a new influx of communists and fellow travelers into official Washington.

Goodwin Watson has been a propagandist for communism and the Soviet Union for many years. His activity in this respect has been open and above board. Mr. Watson is to be commended for not attempting to conceal his communist sympathies. And I wish it clearly understood that I do not challenge his right to hold whatever sympathies he may choose to hold. My only concern is over the fact that one of such outspoken communist views and sympathies should be named to the position of Chief Broadcast Analyst with such important decisions entrusted to him as are set forth in the foregoing description of Mr. Watson's duties.

Over a period of years, Goodwin Watson wrote numerous articles in praise of the Soviet way of life. At the conclusion of one of these articles, he expressed his liking for the "socialism" of Russia in the following manner: "I wish I knew whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I want to live."

Goodwin Watson's frequent eulogies on the Soviet way of life have customarily been coupled with emphatic disparagement of the American way of life. If you desire a complete listing of Mr. Watson's writings which reveal his strong preference for the Soviet system over the American system, I shall be happy to provide them for you, Mr. Commissioner.

Mr. Watson has expressed his communist sympathies by an extraordinary amount of activity on behalf of the front organizations of the Communist Party. I offer you, Mr. Commissioner, a list of the Party's organizations with which Mr. Watson has publicly associated himself. It is as follows:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.
 American Congress for Peace and Democracy.
 American League for Peace and Democracy.
 American Student Union.
 Conference on Pan-American Democracy.
 Consumers Union.
 Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.
 International Workers Order.
 League of American Writers.
 National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
 North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
 Open Letter in Defense of the Communist Party.
 Social Work Today.

I am sure you will agree, Mr. Commissioner, that Watson's associations with communist front organizations have been so numerous that it is impossible to account for them on the ground of his having been an innocent dupe of the Communist Party. If you desire to have one of your representatives study the evidence in our Committee's files which bears upon the matter of Watson's connections with communist front organizations, I shall be happy to offer you every facility for that purpose.

We are not concerned solely with the case of Watson as an individual. We are, I believe, compelled to search for the hidden influences which bring about the appointment and certification of such persons as Watson. The problem of ridding official Washington of the hundreds of communists and fellow travelers who now occupy government posts will not be solved until we get at the root of the matter, namely this prevailing influence which continues to bring such men as Watson to important government posts in the nation's capital. When that sinister influence has been identified and exposed, then we may hope that some Americans of undoubted loyalty will be called to these newly created posts of such strategic importance in the defense of America.

Respectfully yours,

Chairman.

Commissioners:
 James Lawrence Fly, Chairman
 Paul A. Walker
 Norman S. Case
 George Henry Payne
 T. A. M. Craven
 Ray C. Wakefield
 C. J. Durr

Address all communications to the Secretary
 T. J. Slowie, Secretary

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
 Washington, D. C., November 19, 1941.

HON. MARTIN DIES,
 Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
 House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN DIES: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday regarding Dr. Goodwin Watson, who was recently appointed as Chief Analyst in our Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service.

I need hardly tell you that I am wholly in sympathy with every effort to rid the Government of subversive influences, and I am confident that all the members of the Federal Communications Commission would join us in this position. I also

agree with you where any question is raised as to the basic attitude of a Government employee we should concern ourselves with the record and with the influences which brought about the appointment.

I have taken pains to make a full inquiry into this subject. As a result I can state unequivocally that at no time has Dr. Watson been a member of the Communist party, or registered or voted as a member of the Communist party, or participated in any way in the activities of the Communist party. And at no time has Dr. Watson indorsed the Communist system.

It ought to be made clear that Dr. Watson did not seek the position which he now occupies. We sought him. Dr. Watson is widely recognized as one of the outstanding social psychologists of the country, and I cannot but believe that the Government is fortunate to have his services in this period of emergency. The recommendations which were most influential in bringing about the appointment were made in response to our inquiry by Professor Gordon Allport, head of the Department of Psychology at Harvard University, and Dr. Hadley Cantril, Professor of Psychology at Princeton University and Director of the Public Opinion Research Project supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and a special consultant for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. At their suggestion Mr. Lloyd Free, Director of our Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, made a full investigation of the qualifications of Dr. Watson, which confirmed the high opinions of him expressed by Professors Allport and Cantril. Thereupon Mr. Free went to see Dr. Watson. It was then, for the first time, that Dr. Watson learned he might be considered for the post. Only after two weeks of discussions and negotiations did Dr. Watson agree to having his name presented to the Commission. The entire motivating force was our own. I might add that the Civil Service Commission investigated and approved the professional qualifications of Dr. Watson for the position.

I might join in your apprehension were I to find that Dr. Watson is or has been connected with the thirteen organizations listed in your letter. My inquiry has developed, however, that he has been a member of only one of the organizations, that is the Consumers Union, in which he was a director. This is a well-known agency which conducts research into values and prices of commodities and advises its members thereon.

I am informed that Dr. Watson has neither been a member of or actively associated with any of the other organizations listed in your letter, nor has he ever indorsed such organizations. It is well known that in the course of educational work the professors of our leading universities quite frequently give attention to specific projects or activities with which various organizations, including some of these, may be concerned. I think you will agree that this, however, cannot be construed either as membership in or as a general indorsement of any such organization. Certainly the American people by expressing admiration for the fighting qualities of the Russians, and by lending the Russians a billion dollars, are not thereby indorsing the communistic system of government.

As a man with extensive travel and broad educational background and experience, Dr. Watson has written more than two hundred articles, monographs, etc. Only two or three of his writings have been concerned with Soviet Russia, and I believe you will find them to be objective studies. In these you will of course find, in the relation of experiences and observations, comments both favorable and unfavorable as the particular situation may have impressed the writer. Neither directly nor indirectly was any form of remuneration received.

If there lingers in your mind any question as to Dr. Watson's basic attitudes, I believe you would be interested in some of the points in his educational and religious work. He is of tenth generation American ancestry. He has received degrees from American universities, including the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University. He has also studied substantially at the universities of Berlin and Vienna. He spent three years in the Union Theological Seminary, and is an ordained minister of the Methodist Church. He has had a guiding hand in religious education for the National Council of the Y. M. C. A. and in the Union Theological Seminary. From the period of 1925 to date he has served at Teachers College of Columbia University successively as instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, and professor of education.

If I can be of further service to you, kindly instruct me.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY, *Chairman.*

2. AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

Exhibits Nos. 7-10: Photostats of an official program of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

On exhibit No. 9, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of a meeting held under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

In its report to the House of Representatives on June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom to be a Communist-front organization.

EXHIBITS NOS. 7-10

(Exhibit No. 7)

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE SPONSORS A CITIZENS RALLY TO ANSWER THE ATTACK ON PUBLIC EDUCATION, CARNEGIE HALL, APRIL 13, 1940

The speakers are—

Dean Ned H. Dearborn, vice president, American Federation of Teachers.

Rev. H. Norman Sibley, University Heights Presbyterian Church.

Prof. Franz Boaz, national chairman, American committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Ralph Hetzel, executive secretary to the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, chairman, Columbia University.

Your attention is directed to the sale in the lobby of the American Committee News Service Bulletins, which present and analyze the facts on the issues under discussion.

(Exhibit No. 8)

NEW YORK

- | | |
|---|---|
| Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University, Chairman. | Prof. Donald Lancefield, Queens College. |
| Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, New York University, Vice Chairman. | Prof. Alexander Lehrman, The City College. |
| Prof. Richard T. Cox, New York University, Treasurer. | Dr. P. A. Levene, Rockefeller Institute. |
| Mr. M. I. Finkelstein, The City College, Secretary. | Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University. |
| Prof. Benjamin Harrow, The City College. | Prof. W. M. Mallisoff, Poly. Inst. of Bklyn. |
| Prof. David Hart, Brooklyn College. | Dr. Paul B. Mann, Evander Childs High School. |
| Prof. Louis Welsner, Hunter College. | Prof. Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College. |
| Dr. Max Yergan, The City College. | Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University. |
| Prof. Ruth Benedict, Columbia University. | Prof. Alonzo F. Myers, New York University. |
| Prof. Robert Chambers, New York University. | Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, The City College. |
| Prof. Phillip W. L. Cox, New York University. | Prof. H. H. Sheldon, New York University. |
| Prof. Ephraim Cross, The City College. | Dr. Randolph B. Smith, Cooperative School for Teachers. |
| Dean Ned H. Dearborn, New York University. | Prof. Simon Sonkin, The City College. |
| Prof. L. C. Dunn, Columbia University. | Prof. Robert K. Speer, New York University. |
| Prof. Douglas Fryer, New York University. | Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, New York City. |
| Mr. Joseph Heymont, Franklin K. Lane High School. | Mr. Ordway Tead, Chairman, Board of Higher Education. |
| Dr. Waldemar Kaempffert, Science Editor, N. Y. "Times". | Prof. Harold C. Urey, Columbia University. |
| Pres. Frank Kingdon, University of Newark. | Dr. Gerald L. Wendt, N. Y. World's Fair. |
| Dr. G. B. Lal, Science Editor, I. N. S. | |

NATIONAL

These are our committee members:

- Prof. Franx Boas, Columbia University,
 Chairman.
 Prof. Ruth Benedict, Columbia Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Edgar Dale, Ohio State University.
 Dean Ned H. Dearborn, New York
 University.
 Dean Christian Gauss, Princeton Uni-
 versity.
 Pres. Frank Kingdon, University of
 Newark.
 Prof. W. M. Malisoff, Poly. Inst. of
 Bklyn.
 Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia
 University.
 Prof. Ernest M. Patterson, University
 of Pennsylvania.
 Pres. Frank E. Baker, Milwaukee State
 T. C.
 Prof. Eric T. Bell, California Inst. of
 Tech.
 Prof. Raymond T. Birge, University of
 California.
 Prof. Olga Bridgman, University of
 California.
 Prof. Henry M. Burlage, University of
 North Carolina.
 Prof. Walter B. Cannon, Harvard
 University.
 Prof. Hadley Cantril, Princeton Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. A. J. Carlson, University of
 Chicago.
 Prof. E. P. Cheyney, University of
 Pennsylvania.
 Prof. Arthur H. Compton, University
 of Chicago.
 Dean David J. Davis, University of
 Illinois.
 Prof. Paul H. Douglas, University of
 Chicago.
 Prof. L. C. Dunn, Columbia University.
 Prof. Huntley Dupre, University of
 Kentucky.
 Dean Roscoe Ellard, University of
 Missouri.
 Prof. Mitchell Franklin, Tulane Uni-
 versity.
 Pres. George W. Fraser, Colorado
 College of Ed.
 Pres. Frank P. Graham, University of
 North Carolina.
 Dean Leon Green, Northwestern Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Harold M. Groves, University of
 Wisconsin.
 Dr. Alice Hamilton, Hadlyme, Conn.
 Prof. Earl J. Hamilton, Duke Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Halford E. Luccock, Yale Uni-
 versity.
 Dean Malcolm S. MacLean, University
 of Minnesota.
 Prof. Clyde R. Miller, Columbia Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Robert A. Millikan, California
 Inst. of Tech.
 Prof. S. A. Mitchell, University of
 Virginia.
 Dean Samuel B. Morris, Stanford Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Frank Luther Mott, State Uni-
 versity of Iowa.
 Prof. William A. Noyce, University of
 Illinois.
 Prof. J. R. Oppenheimer, University of
 California.
 Pres. Marion Park, Bryn Mawr College.
 Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard
 University.
 Prof. John P. Peters, Yale University.
 Dean A. A. Potter, Purdue University.
 Pres. Roscoe Pulliam, Southern Illinois
 State Normal University.
 Prof. Floyd W. Reeves, University of
 Chicago.
 Dr. George Sarton, Harvard University.
 Prof. Harlow Shapley, Harvard Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. George H. Shull, Princeton Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Henry E. Sigerist, Johns Hopkins
 University.
 Prof. S. Stephenson Smith, University
 of Oregon.
 Prof. L. J. Stadler, University of
 Missouri.
 Prof. George W. Stocking, University of
 Texas.
 Prof. D. J. Struik, Mass. Inst. of Tech.
 Prof. C. Fayette Taylor, Mass. Inst. of
 Tech.
 Prof. Edward C. Tolman, University of
 California.
 Prof. Harold C. Urey, Columbia Uni-
 versity.
 Prof. Leroy Waterman, University of
 Michigan.
 Prof. Bailey Willis, Stanford Uni-
 versity.

(EXHIBIT No. 9)

These people sponsored this meeting:

Dr. Harold Aaron	Arthur Kailot
Rabbi Michael Alper	Dorothy Kenyon
Mrs. Rachel R. Anderson	Carol King
Rev. Charles Austin	Erwin Klaus
Mrs. Sherwood Anderson	Prof. Otto Klineberg
Leonard Bacon	Emerio Kurtagh
Lewis Alan Berne	Emil Lengyel
Theron Bainberger	Prof. Eugene W. Lyman
Mrs. Hella Bornays	Prof. Robert S. Lynd
Dr. Alice R. Bernhelm	Dr. Gerald F. Machacek
Katherine Devereux Blako	Rosalie Manning
Mrs. W. Russell Bowle	George Marshall
Prof. Dorothy Brewster	Dexter Masters
Prof. John Bridge	Hon. Clifford T. McAvoy
Dean Ralph P. Bridgman	Ernest L. Meyer
Prof. Paul Brissenden	Albert Milano
Prof. Lyman Bryson	Elizabeth Moos
Dr. Harry J. Carman	Prof. Alonzo F. Myers
Rabbi J. X. Cohen	Dr. Henry Neumann
Prof. George S. Counts	W. W. Norton
Dr. Leonard Covello	Dr. William A. Neilson
Pascal Coviol	Victor Pascho
Mrs. Rachel Davis-Dubois	Mrs. Edna Phillips
Dr. Lester Dix	William Pickens
Martha Dodd	Prof. Bernard F. Rieess
Mary Dublin	Rev. James H. Robinson
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild	Sylvia Wilcox Razez
Samuel S. Fishzohn	Mary Rittenhouse
Dr. S. Rawley Geyolln	Ralph Roeder
Ben Golden	Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Dr. Willystine Goodsell	Joseph Schlossberg
Dave Green	B. Schwartz
Prof. E. Adelaide Hahn	Arnold Shukatoft
Edward Evorett Hale	Herman Shumlin
Ruth Gillotte Hardy	Rev. H. Norman Sibley
Peter K. Hawley	Rev. Alson J. Smith
Prof. Selig Hecht	George Soule
Charles J. Handley	Alfred K. Stern
Thayer Hobson	I. F. Stone
Alexander Hoffman	Charles William Taussig
August Hovorka, Jr.	Sigmund C. Taft
Ben Howe	Ordway Tead
B. W. Huobsch	Dr. V. T. Thayer
Fannie Hurst	Mrs. A. H. Vixman
Rev. William Lloyd Imos	Eda Lou Walton
Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs	Prof. Goodwin Watson
Dr. Alvin S. Johnson	Morris Watson
Robert Josephy	Leo L. Ypsilanti
Harry M. Justiz	

(EXHIBIT No. 10)

Please send me—

- additional information on the aims and work of the committee.
 —an acknowledgement of my contribution of for your work.

.....

The address of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom is 519 West 121st Street, New York, N. Y. The telephone number is Monumet 2-5630-1.

Please send my friends—

—additional information on the aims and work of the committee.

.....

3. AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Exhibit No. 11: Photostat of the letterhead of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the endorsers of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy. With few exceptions, all the endorsers whose names appear on this exhibit were well-known Communists or Communist fellow travelers.

In the confidential memoranda of the interdepartmental committee, the foregoing organization was described as subversive.

EXHIBIT No. 11

AMERICAN CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Washington, D. C., January 6-8, 1939

Called by American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington Office: 804 Seventeenth Street NW., Telephone National 2872

National Officers: Harry F. Ward, *Chairman*; Robert Morris Lovett, *Vice-Chairman*; Mrs. Victor L. Berger, *Vice-Chairman*; Margaret Forsyth, *Acting Treasurer*.

Congress Endorsers: Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Borne, George Biddle, Crissin Birrell, Melvyn Douglas, Professor Franz Boas, John H. Roach, Joseph Cadden, Rep. Usher I. Burdick, Rabbi Samuel M. Cohen, Rep. John M. Coffee, Howard Costigan, Jerome Davis, John P. Davis, Paul De Kruff, Theodore Dreiser, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Abram Flaner, Miguel Garriga, Albert Ghidoni, Professor Willyetline Goodsell, Rudolph Harju, L. O. Hartman, Donald Henderson, Alexander Hoffman, Rev. William Lloyd Imce, F. Stanley Jones, Rockwell Kent, Joseph P. Lasch, David Lasser, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Katherine Molnery, Lewis Merrill, Morris Muater, Samuel Ornitz, Bishop Robert L. Paddock, Senator James P. Pope, Mervyn Rathborn, Reid Robinson, Rep. Byron N. Scott, Rev. Guy Emery Shipley, Viola Brothers Shore, Robert G. Spivaek, Donald Ogden Stewart, Rep. Henry G. Teigan, Ross Trolano, Professor David D. Vaughan, Dr. Goodwin Watson, A. F. Whitney.

4. AMERICAN INVESTOR'S UNION, INC.

Exhibit No. 12: Photostat of an advertisement of the American Investors Union, Inc., which appeared in the New Republic of December 27, 1939.

On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of the American Investors Union, Inc.

All of the persons whose names appear on this exhibit as sponsors or as members of the board of directors have substantial records as fellow travelers with Communist front organizations.

(Exhibit No. 12 is on file with the committee.)

5. AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Exhibit No. 13: Photostat of official document issued by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as an endorser of a gathering held under the auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In the confidential memoranda of the interdepartmental committee, the American League for Peace and Democracy was described as a subversive organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities has likewise found that the American League for Peace and Democracy was a Communist front organization.

(Exhibit No. 13 is on file with the committee.)

6. AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Exhibits No. 14-17: Photostats of an official leaflet of the American Student Union.

On Exhibit No. 17, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union. In its report to the House of Representatives in January 1940, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the American Student Union to be a Communist front organization. Furthermore Joseph P. Lash who was executive secretary of the American Student Union during the period of Goodwin Watson's affiliation with the organization has since appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and testified under oath that the American Student Union was under the complete control of the Communists.

EXHIBITS NOS. 14-16

PRESENTING THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

"The American Student Union is an organization in which I believe very strongly and for which I hope great success. One of the things we need most in American public life is fusing together into action of the leftist groups—and by leftist I mean those from the progressive on. As I understand it, that is the underlying motive of the Student Union and I wish it all success."—Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn.

PEACE

Scene from 1936 strike against war at U. of California as the A. S. U. led 500,000 students throughout nation in great peace demonstration.

FREEDOM

In defense of academic liberty, A. S. U. leads students of College of City of New York in protest against President Robinson's regime.

DEMOCRACY

The A. S. U. fosters cooperation between students and liberal educators to revitalize curriculum and combat reactionary pressure. Scene shows President MacCracken of Vassar joining peace parade.

SECURITY

The A. S. U. leads "cap and gown" contingent to Washington to urge passage of American Youth Act. Scene shows students assembled as petitions are submitted to President Roosevelt.

EQUALITY

Opposing discrimination and segregation in education, A. S. U. stands for equal facilities for Negro students. Photo shows impoverished Negro high school in South.

EDUCATION

The A. S. U. sponsors progressive education to halt the rise of reactionary student groups. Scene shows group of American students giving Nazi salute and seeking to silence liberal student opinion.

EXHIBIT No. 17

The American Student Union, aligning itself with labor and other progressive groups, urges united effort to maintain peace and liberty and to extend economic welfare. We stand for a realistic, fearless educational system to meet the challenge of the present day.

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Roger Baldwin
Algernon Black
Van Wyck Brooks
George S. Counts
Mrs. Ethel Clyde
Mary Fox
Waldo Frank

Francis Gorman
Louis Hacker
Julius Hochman
Quincy Howe
Charles Hendley
Freda Kirchwey

Robert Morris Lovett
Alexander Meiklejohn
Reinhold Niebuhr
Norman Thomas
Mrs. Bertha Pool Weyl
Goodwin Watson

(Perforating rule)

I am interested in the American Student Union. Please send me more information.

I wish to join the American Student Union and enclose \$.50 in annual dues. (\$.25 for high-school students.)

I wish to join the American Student Union and subscribe to The Student Advocate, its monthly magazine, at annual rate of \$1.00. (\$.75 for high-school students.)

Name
Address
School Class

Address all communications to the American Student Union, 112 East 10th Street, New York City.

7. AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Exhibit No. 18: Photostat of page 1 of the Daily Worker of January 15, 1936.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the supporters of the American Youth Congress' bill which was known as the American Youth Act.

Both the interdepartmental committee and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities have found that the American Youth Congress was a Communist front organization.

[Exhibit No. 18 is on file with the committee.]

8. CONFERENCE ON PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Exhibit No. 19: Photostat of a letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors on Pan American Democracy.

In its report to the House of Representatives on June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the Conference on Pan American Democracy to be a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 10

Executive Secretary, Prof. Donald McConnell

Secretary on Latin America, Dr. David Efron

SPONSORS

Louis Adamo
Dr. Wallace W. Atwood
Eleanor Copenhaver Anderson
Prof. Hugo Fernandes Artucio
Eunice Fuller Barnard
Alfred M. Bligham
Algernon Black
Bruce Bliven
Dr. Franz Boas
Heywood Brown
Erskine Caldwell
Charlotte Carr
Bennet A. Cori
Evans Clark
(Clifford A. Cochran
Dr. Gilberto Concepcion de Gra-
cia
Prof. George Counts
Malcolm Cowley
Prof. Horace Davis
Prof. Jerome Davis
R. E. Diffendorfer
Bailey W. Dille
Dr. William E. Dodd

Prof. Paul H. Douglas
Dr. Henry Grattan Doyle
John L. Elliott
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Prof. Irving Fisher
Prof. Eugene Forsyth
Margaret Forsythe
Frances H. Grant
Alberto Grieco
Sidney Hillman
Prof. Arthur N. Holcombe
John Haynes Holmes
Quincy Howe
Langston Hughes
Rev. William Lloyd Innes
Stanley M. Isaacs
Gardner Jackson
Prof. Chester L. Jones
Rockwell Kent
Dorothy Kenyon
Max Lerner
Marina Lopes
Jean Lyons
George Marshall

Lewis Merrill
Dr. Clyde H. Miller
Prof. Gardner Murphy
William Pickens
A. Phillip Randolph
Mervyn Rathborne
David Rapoport
Prof. Margaret Schlaubach
Adelaide Schukkind
Guy R. Shiger
James T. Shotwell
Upton Sinclair
George Soule
Isabel Walker Soule
Maywell Stewart
Isidore F. Stone
Prof. B. J. Strunk
William Wachs
Prof. Goodwin Watson
Roy Wilkins
Dr. Max Winkler
Dr. Stephens S. Wise
Max Verman

CONFERENCE ON PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Executive Office: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York; Telephone : WAtkins 9-0420

December 10-11, 1938, Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C.

NOVEMBER 16, 1938.

DEAR FRIENDS: Enclosed you will find a Call to the Conference on Pan-American Democracy to be held in Washington on December tenth and eleventh.

On behalf of the Committee Sponsors may I urge that your organization make every effort to participate? The problem is a pressing one and the need for some solution immediate.

We understand your organization has a very real concern with the inroads that fascism is making in this hemisphere, and we believe you can make a valuable contribution to our Conference. If you can send representatives, please inform us at once.

We are looking forward to meeting them in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD McCONNELL.

Delegates:

Bernard Stern
Harry Lambertson
William Phillips

9. CONSUMERS UNION

Exhibit Nos. 20-26: Photostats of an official circular of Consumers Union.

On exhibit No. 22, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a director of Consumers Union.

Consumers Union, like all other Communist-front organizations, professes an objective which may easily deceive the unsuspecting. The professed objective of a Communist-front organization, whether it be peace or democracy or the general welfare of humanity, is the principal device with which the Communist Party attempts to conceal the true purpose of all its front organizations. (At this point it is well to bear in mind the statement of Attorney General Biddle on the question of front organizations, namely: "Testimony on front organizations, showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist

Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.") It is the mark of a loyal Communist fellow traveler to underline the professed objective of the organization whenever he is confronted with a demand to give an account of his collaboration with a Communist-front organization.

Consumers Union was organized and from its very beginning has been headed by Arthur Kallet. Kallet's Communist Party name was Edward Adams. Under the name of Edward Adams, Kallet served as editor of the Communist Party's magazine, *Health and Hygiene*.

EXHIBIT No. 20

85,000 families save money * * * protect health through the buying advice supplied by this hard-hitting, fast-growing organization

CONSUMERS' UNION

A nonprofit testing organization providing consumers with accurate, unbiased information to enable them to buy intelligently

DO YOU KNOW:

That a certain auto radio sells for \$44.95 under the brand name of its manufacturer; that under the brand name of a widely known mail-order house the identical set (made by the same manufacturer) sells for exactly \$20 less * * * ?

That government testers examining leading brands of canned fruit recently found nearly 85% of the cans illegally packed and labeled * * * ?

That several widely sold brands of toothpaste may be harmful to your teeth and gums * * * ?

That the best and worst sheets in a group of 25 being tested were made by the same company * * * ?

That equipping your car with one brand of tires instead of another may save you as much as \$40 in each 20,000 driving miles * * * ?

That many widely advertised "alkalizing" drugs may, if used regularly, cause serious poisoning; and that none of them will do all they claim to do * * * ?

In the face of facts like these—and dozens of others like them—your everyday buying CAN be a wasteful and even a dangerous business. But it needn't be—if you know which of the thousands of products on the market are worth buying at all; and, of these, which brands are the "Best Buys."

You can't get such information from the advertisements—they are often false, very often misleading, and even honest advertising offers no basis for comparisons.

What consumers need and want is accurate, unbiased, usable information on the comparative value of competing products.

Consumers Union was established—by consumers—to furnish just such information.

Each of its 85,000 members gets each month a hard-hitting, easy-to-read journal—*Consumers Union Reports*—giving the results of impartial laboratory tests on a wide variety of products. The information is clear and to the point; products are rated by name as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," or "Not Acceptable."

Each member of Consumers Union also gets, once a year, a handsome and compact *Buying Guide*—an invaluable reference book containing ratings of hundreds of products and specially arranged for convenient use in shopping.

In short, each member of Consumers Union gets what he needs to know if he is to get his money's worth in his everyday purchases; if he is to protect himself against misrepresented, adulterated, worthless or dangerous merchandise.

HOW CONSUMERS UNION TESTS PRODUCTS

Consumers Union's own staff of chemists, engineers and physicists conducts many of the laboratory tests and examinations upon which ratings of products are based. The bulk of the testing, however, is done by Consumers Union's consultants—more than 200 specialists selected for their competence and freedom from commercial bias—in university, governmental and private laboratories.

Tests of shoes, for example, were made for Consumers Union by one of the best-equipped testing laboratories in the United States (which put each brand through 19 separate tests).

Canned goods are tested for Consumers Union by expert graders in the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Mechanical refrigerators are given rigid tests and inspections under the direction of an electrical engineer in one of the largest universities in the country.

Samples for test are in almost all cases bought on the open market just as any shopper would buy them. Wherever possible, testing is done by actual use trials as well as by laboratory analysis. Results of tests are painstakingly checked and verified—with reference to the best technical knowledge available—before publication.

Consumers Union's Special Technical Consultant is Dr. William Mallott, Professor of Bio-Chemistry at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Editor of *Philosophy of Science*, and author of many scientific books and papers.

EXHIBIT No. 21

HOW CONSUMERS UNION MAKES ITS REPORTS

Consumers Union Reports has been called "the most interesting magazine in America." It is certainly one of the most unusual. In page after page it cuts through advertising claims, gets to the truth about products, exposes the false, calls attention to the good. The findings that Consumers Union's technicians and technical consultants arrive at in their tests are presented simply, clearly, readably in the Reports.

From five to eight kinds of products are generally covered in each issue of the Reports. And within each group anywhere from a dozen to a hundred brands are discussed and rated—as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," or "Not Acceptable." In recent months there have been reports on the following commodities, among many others:

Cameras	Used Cars
1940 Radios	Electric Shavers
Canned Foods	Cosmetics
Shoes	Women's Slips
Refrigerators	Antiseptics
Dentifrices	Men's Suits

The Reports also give much valuable information on numerous subjects of general importance to consumers—medical care, insurance, investment plans, health problems, &c. News of developments in consumer legislation, cooperative activity and the like is reported as it occurs.

For the guidance of those who wish to be assured that the goods they buy are made under satisfactory working conditions, reports are published regularly on wages, hours, and employee relations in various industries. These reports are entirely independent of the technical reports and do not affect brand ratings.

The Buying Guide which Consumers Union members receive (at no extra charge) summarizes in brief and convenient form all the brand ratings carried in the Reports. It also contains many ratings and much buying data not found in the Reports. The 1939 edition of the Guide numbers nearly 300 pages, rates more than 2,500 products. A new edition of this Guide will be published early in the Spring of 1940.

The Reports, the Buying Guide, and other Consumers Union publications are under the editorial direction of Dexter Masters, formerly associated with the editorial staffs of *Time* and *Fortune*, and for five years the editor of *Tide*.

HISTORY OF CONSUMERS UNION

Consumers Union was established February 6, 1936, in response to a widespread demand for a competent, honest and unbiased technical service for consumers which would be controlled by its members and responsive to their needs.

It is operated on a strictly non-profit basis under the Membership Corporation laws of New York State, and its income is derived entirely from the fees and contributions of members, each of whom has a vote in the control of the organization. Consumers Union has absolutely no connection of any kind, direct or indirect, with any manufacturer, distributor or other commercial interest.

Professor Colston E. Warne of the Department of Economics at Amherst College—one of the leading figures in the consumer movement in America—is president of Consumers Union.

EXHIBIT NO. 22

HOW TO SAVE MONEY WHEN BUYING A RADIO

As with many another product tested by Consumers Union, prices of radio sets were found to be meaningless as guides to quality. Thirty models were tested. A well-known set selling for \$35 was found to be a better buy than another well-known set selling for \$50. Similarly, in a higher-price range, \$80 and \$90 models were found to be inferior to \$60 models. The table below, compiled from ratings in the Reports, shows how savings can be made in buying a radio. Actual brand names are given in the Reports.

Model A—\$9.95—Best Buy—A surprisingly satisfactory receiver * * *
 Model B—\$17.45—Not Acceptable—Tone quality very poor * * *
 Model C—\$18.95—Best Buy—Good sensitivity * * *
 Model D—\$29.95—Not Acceptable—Performance poor and price high * * *
 Model E—\$34.95—Best Buy—Good tone quality * * *
 Model F—\$49.95—Not Acceptable—Bad image frequency * * *
 Model G—\$59.95—Best Buy—Very good tone quality and abundant power * * *
 Model H—\$89.95—Not Acceptable—Sensitivity poor * * *

Arthur Kallet, engineer (graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), coauthor of "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs" and author of "Counterfeit," is the executive director.

Among the sponsors of Consumers Union are many prominent scientists, doctors, educators, government officials, social workers, etc. (complete list of names on request).

At its start Consumers Union had a staff of 10 and a total of 148 members. It now has a staff of 50 and a membership of approximately 85,000 throughout the United States.

For West Coast consumers, a West Coast section of Consumers Union has been set up. For a small additional fee, West Coast members get all national issues of the Reports plus a monthly supplement covering West Coast products and consumer activities. Chairman of this division of Consumers Union is Prof. Robert A. Brady of the University of California. Director is Mildred A. Edlo.

WHAT MEMBERSHIP INCLUDES

The cost of membership in Consumers Union is just \$3 a year. This brings you:

1. Twelve monthly issues of the Reports.
2. The Annual Buying Guide.
3. A vote in the control of the organization (membership entails no obligations whatever).

Properly utilized, the buying guidance that membership in Consumers Union provides can:

1. Enable you to make substantial savings on your purchases—from \$50 to \$300 or more a year in an average family.
2. Protect you from injurious and harmful products.
3. Arm you with the information you need to make intelligent choices in the market place.

To get these benefits for yourself and your family—and to support this effort to build a democratically controlled honestly disinterested consumer organization—fill out and mail the application blank on this page.

You will receive at once the first of twelve issues of the Reports, which will be sent to you monthly, and the 1939 Consumers Union Buying Guide.

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS

Arthur Kallet, Director—Engineer: Co-author of "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs."	Robert A. Brady, Vice President, Assoo. Prof. of Economics, University of California.
Dexter Masters, Publication Director—Editor, Journalist.	Adelaide Schulkind, Secretary—Exco. Sec'y. League for Mutual Aid.
Colston E. Warne, President, Assoo. Prof. of Economics, Amherst College.	Bernard J. Reis, Treasurer—Certified Public Accountant, Author, "False Security."
William Malloff, Vice President and Special Technical Consultant. Prof. of Biochemistry, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.	Dr. Harold Aaron—Author of "Our Common Allment."
James Gillman, Vice President, Author.	

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS—continued

Hartley W. Cross—Prof. of Economics, Springfield College.
 Jerome Davis—Former Pres. American Federation of Teachers.
 Osmond K. Fraenkel—Attorney, director, American Civil Liberties Union.
 A. J. Isserman—Counsel, Consumers Union.
 Paul J. Kern—Pres. Civil Service Commission, N. Y. C.
 Mark Marvin—Staff representative, Labor Editor, C. U. Reports.
 Kathleen McInerney—Former Sec'y League of Women Shoppers.
 A. Philip Randolph—Pres. Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters.
 Goodwin Watson—Prof. of Education Teachers College, Columbia University.

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Dr. Anton J. Carlson—Chairman, Dep't of Physiology, University of Chicago; Past Pres. American Physiological Society.
 Dr. Theodor Rosebury—Assistant Prof. of Bacteriology, College of physicians & Surgeons, and School of Dental and Oral Surgery, Columbia University.
 Dr. Marion B. Sulzberger—Ass't Prof. Clinical Dermatology & Syphilology, N. Y. Post Graduate Medical School Columbia University.
 Dr. Harold Aron, Special Medical Advisor.

CONSUMERS UNION OF UNITED STATES, INC.
 17 UNION SQUARE W., NEW YORK, N. Y.

I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union. I enclose:

- ☐ \$3 Please send me Consumers Union Reports for one year and the annual Buying Guide.
☐ \$5 for two years. ☐ \$7 for three years.
☐ \$3.50 for one year's membership in Western CU (two years, \$6). Includes National Reports plus monthly West Coast Supplements.

I agree to keep confidential all material so designated.

Signature
 Address
 Occupation

(Exhibit No. 23 is on file with the committee.)

10. COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO

Exhibits Nos. 24-26: Photostats of 3 pages from a pamphlet entitled "These Americans Say."

On Exhibit No. 25, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of an organization which was known as the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo. This coordinating committee was a subsidiary of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The latter organization was unanimously found by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities to be a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 24

These Americans Say: "LIFT THE EMBARGO AGAINST REPUBLICAN SPAIN."

EXHIBIT No. 25

WRITERS—continued

Clifton Fadiman	George S. Kaufman	Vida D. Scudder
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Rockwell Kent	Edwin Seaver
William Faulkner	Freda Kirchwey	George Seides
Edna Ferber	Arthur Kober	Vincent Sheean
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Oliver LaFarge	Upton Sinclair
Louis Fischer	Max Lerner	George Soule
Waldo Frank	Archibald MacLeish	John Steinbeck
John Gunther	Edna St. Vincent Millay	Maxwell S. Stewart
Margaret Halsey	Christopher Morely	Leland Stowe
Lillian Hellman	Lewis Mumford	Dorothy Thompson
Dashiell Hammett	Kathleen Norris	James Thurber
Ernest Hemingway	Clifford Odets	Carl Van Doren
Granville Hicks	Dorothy Parker	Oswald Garrison Villard
Sidney Howard	Elliot Paul	Charles Frankline Scott
Langston Hughes	Charles Poore	Wood
Horace Kallen	Elmer Rice	
H. V. Kaltenborn	Charles Edward Russell	

In a survey made by the League of American Writers in 1938, 418 writers, 98 percent said they favored the Loyalists, 1.75 percent were neutral and one quarter of one percent pro-Franco.

PSYCHOLOGISTS

Gordon Allport	Harry Helson	Karl Muenzinger
J. F. Brown	Clark L. Hull	Gardner Murphy
Harry W. Crane	Max L. Hutt	Christian Ruckmick
John F. Dashiell	J. R. Kantor	T. C. Schneirla
Leonard W. Dobb	Otto Kilneberg	John F. Shepard
Franklin Fearing	Arthur Korhauser	Stevenson Smith
James J. Gibson	I. Krechevsky	Edward C. Tolman
Ralph H. Gundlach	Herbert S. Langfeld	George B. Vetter
E. R. Guthrie	Robert B. MacLeod	Goodwin Watson
George W. Hartmann	Norman R. F. Maier	William R. Wilson

CLERGYMEN

Bishop Julius W. Atwood	Rev. William E. Gilroy	Bishop Francis J. Mc-
Rev. Dwight J. Bradley	Rev. L. O. Hartman	Connell
Rev. W. Russell Bowie	Rev. Ivan Lee Holt	Rev. Oscar Maurer
Bishop Chauncey B. Brewster	Dean Lynn Harold Hough	Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr
Rev. Hugh Elmer Brown	Rabbi Edward L. Israel	Bishop Robert L. Pad-
Rev. Raymond Calkins	Bishop Thomas Jenkins	dock
Rev. Henry E. Cobb	Rev. John Paul Jones	Bishop L. Parsons
Bishop Francis Cushman	Rev. Henry Smith Leiper	Rev. Harold C. Phillips
Sherwood Eddy	Rev. Moses R. Lovett	Rev. Daniel A. Polling
Rev. Frederick May Elliot	Rev. Halford E. Luccock	Rev. Julius S. Seebach
Bishop Charles K. Gilbert	Rev. J. A. McCallum	Rev. John van Shalek
Rev. Charles W. Gilkey	Rev. Charles S. Mac-	
	Farland	

EXHIBIT No. 26

Analysis of the 1939 survey of American opinion on Spain by the American Institute of Public Opinion

February 1937:		
Pro-Loyalist.....		85%
Pro-Franco.....		35%
Today:		
Pro-Loyalist.....		76%
Pro-Franco.....		24%
A separate tabulation, based on religious affiliation, revealed the following:		
Protestants:		
Pro-Loyalist.....		83%
Pro-Franco.....		17%
Catholics:		
Pro-Loyalist.....		42%
Pro-Franco.....		58%

Thus out of 10 Catholics, 4 favor Franco, 3 favor neither side, and 3 favor the Loyalists. A majority of Catholics do not favor Franco. To continue the embargo, which all admit favors Franco, is therefore to permit American policy toward Spain to be determined by a small articulate pressure group, representing a very small fraction of effective voting population.

This material has been compiled and published by The Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Rev. Herman F. Reischig, Secretary, Room 201, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, through whom all statements made herein can be verified.

11. DESCENDANTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Exhibits Nos. 27-28: Photostats of a circular of the Descendants of the American Revolution and of page 2 of the Daily Worker of February 13, 1939.

On both of these exhibits the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of the Descendants of the American Revolution.

In its report to the House of Representatives on June 25, 1942, the Special Committee on un-American Activities found the Descendants of the American Revolution to be a Communist front organization (These exhibits are on file with the committee.)

12. INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

Exhibit No. 29: Photostat of advertisement from the New Masses of August 27, 1940.

On this exhibit the name of Goodwin Watson appears as a sponsor of a contest held under the auspices of the International Workers Order.

The International Workers Order is one of the most influential and successful of the several auxiliary organizations of the Communist Party. Its national officers, William Weiner and Max Bedacht, are outstanding leaders of the Communist Party. William Weiner was recently convicted of fraudulently representing himself to be an American citizen, and Max Bedacht was a former general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Both Weiner and Bedacht are at present members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

In its report to the House of Representatives in January, 1940, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found the International Workers Order to be a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 29

PLAYS FOR CHILDREN CONTEST

SPONSORED BY JUNIOR SECTION INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

Committee of Sponsors: John W. Gassner, Will Greer, Elizabeth Irwin, Albert Maltz, Sam Pevsner, Oscar Saul, Lem Ward, Prof. Goodwin Watson.

For more information address

PLAYS FOR CHILDREN CONTEST

Room 1202—80 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

\$50, 1st prize; \$25, 2nd prize; \$10, 3rd prize

13. LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

Exhibit No. 30: Photostats of 4 pages from a booklet published by the League of American Writers.

Goodwin Watson was one of the authors who contributed to this booklet.

The interdepartmental committee, in its confidential memoranda, found the League of American Writers to be a subversive organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities has likewise declared unanimously that the League of American Writers is a Communist front organization.

EXHIBIT No. 30

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS * * *"

Statements on anti-Semitism by 54 leading American writers, statesmen, educators, clergymen, and trade-unionists

(Published by The League of American Writers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.)

ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY

(Goodwin Watson, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University)

Psychology, like many other sciences, is indebted to Jewish leaders for contributions of fundamental importance. The names of such European psychologists as Freud, Adler, Wertheimer, Koffka, Stern, Simon, Katz, Luria, and Lewin are honored all over the world, wherever free scientific study is still fostered. Within the American Psychological Association, approximately ten percent of the members are of Jewish ancestry, and among the outstanding, first-rate men, the same proportion would probably hold.

There has been little evidence yet, of overt or wide-spread anti-Semitism among psychologists. One would like to think that expert knowledge of individual differences and of the sources of race prejudice might safeguard the students of human behavior. No one knows better than psychologists that distinctions based upon race do not correspond with any consistency to differences in mental ability, temperament, personality, or attitudes. Nine-tenths of the popular generalizations about "Aryans," Jews, Negroes, and Orientals can be exploded at once by any psychologist familiar with the findings of his science.

Knowledge, however, is not always the guide of conduct. There are some distressing examples of psychologists in positions of considerable influence, who deliberately put as many obstacles as possible in the path of Jewish students and instructors. The professors rationalize their bias, not by any charge that the particular psychologists are incapable, but by saying, "We must not let too many Jewish students graduate here. It would give the institution a bad name, and besides, they could not be placed in suitable positions. Let us restrict matriculation to the students we can probably place." Thus the psychologists' own knowledge of human capacities is set aside, their obligation to educate a misinformed public is ignored, and they pursue the pusillanimous policy of subordinating the conduct of higher education to popular prejudices. Unwilling to make a stand for truth now, when it would cost little, they would seem to be ripe for Gleichschaltung in whatever form of fascism may win power.

What can be done? The first task is to make the whole psychology profession conscious that anti-Semitism today is not an independent entity, to be fostered, ignored, or opposed in accord with personal inclination, but is a part of a very ominous chain of social events. The murmurs that rise against Jews will, if our economy continues to waver, rise louder and more inclusively, against all liberals and against all intellectuals. Psychologists ought to be opposing anti-Semitism by vigorous research and more effective adult education not only upon grounds of devotion to truth, and upon humanitarian grounds, but because any triumph of the forces behind anti-Semitism will shatter the whole structure of pure science. Psychology in Central Europe was crucified on the Swastika even before the campaign against the Jews reached its peak.

So far as the general public is concerned, the need is not so much for new research, as for the spreading of facts fairly well established. Through schools, Sunday schools, magazine articles, radio talks, and educational films, psychologists should share their findings on race differences and the sources of race prejudice. This is an immediate service of great importance. There is a long-term need, even more important. Psychologists know that there will be scapegoat

attacks so long as our economy continues to frustrate the reasonable hopes of a large proportion of our people. The propaganda of the power-group which would like to preserve its privileges although it is unable to save our standards of living, will necessarily be directed toward putting the blame upon some other minority. If social psychologists can help the average citizen see through the efforts to misconstrue our economic and political predicament, then only have we a right to hope that anti-Semitism may be really smashed.

14. NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Exhibits Nos. 31-32: Photostats of an article from pages 1 and 4 of the Daily Worker of July 23, 1940.

On Exhibit No. 32, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the signers of a letter issued under the auspices of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

With few exceptions, the signers of this letter were persons with long records of affiliation with the front organizations of the Communist Party.

EXHIBITS NOS. 31-32

65 NOTED AMERICANS PROTEST ATTACKS ON C. P. BALLOT RIGHTS

(By Adam Lavin, Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22.—A strongly worded protest against the nationwide attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot was made here yesterday by 65 leading educators, writers, churchmen, lawyers, trade-unionists, and civic leaders.

The 65 liberals demanded that President Roosevelt and Attorney General Robert Jackson take immediate action to safeguard the constitutional liberties of Communists.

In an open letter to the President and to Jackson made public by Alfred K. Stern, National Chairman of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, they declared that the Department of Justice is "duty bound" to intervene against vigilante groups and local authorities which have tried to keep Communists off the ballot.

The signers of the letter included such eminent Americans as Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College; Dr. E. A. Ross, National Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Franz Boas, world renowned anthropologist; Dr. Esther Luelle Brown, Russell Sage Foundation; Reverend Clarence E. Boyer, Madison Square Church House, New York; Paul Robeson, Max Lerner, the Nation; Malcolm Cowley, Editor, The New Republic; B. W. Huebsch, publisher; Carey McWilliams, Commissioner of Immigration and Housing, California; Clifford T. McAvoy, Deputy Commissioner of Welfare, New York; Professor Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University; Professor Robert E. Mathews, College of Law, Ohio State University; Wm. F. Cochran, Church League for Industrial Democracy and Chairman, Maryland Association for Democratic Rights, Baltimore; Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard; Dr. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley College; Dr. Goodwin Watson of City College, and Rabbi Michael Alper of New York.

The 65 noted liberals declared that they made their protest against attacks on the civil rights of Communists as "citizens who are not members of that party and who do not subscribe to its principles, program, or policy."

Examples of the deprivation of the civil liberties of Communists which they cited were the following:

"In Wappinger Falls, N. Y., on June 23, eight members of the Communist Party were arrested and jailed on the pretext that they were disturbing the peace by ringing doorbells to solicit signatures for electoral petitions.

"In West Virginia, 125 citizens have been indicted for signing similar petitions, while in Weirton, W. Va., hundreds of innocent signers of petitions are being intimidated and even assaulted by 'patriots' and denied protection by local authorities.

"In Rockford, Ill., collectors of signatures were attacked by organized hoodlums in the streets. It is reported that these attacks were sanctioned by the authorities.

"In Michigan, Secretary of State Kelly has publicly intimidated signers of such petitions by announcing that a card-index file of 9,965 signers will be used by him to dismiss such persons from his department.

"The County Attorney of Santa Cruz County, Arizona, publicly declared that he would use any means to deprive the Communist Party of its right to appear on the ballot and has arrested a signature collector."

The signers of the open letter to the President and to Attorney General Robert Jackson declared that the Department of Justice "is duty bound to intervene immediately against those law breakers under title 18, Chapter 8, Sections 51 and 52 of the United States Code."

Violations of civil liberties of Communists which have already taken place, the signers of the letter said "threaten to destroy the very liberty that is consonant with the name America and to imperil our national security by sowing hysteria, prejudice, violence, and hate.

"They undermine the foundation of loyalty and genuine patriotism and encourage within the borders of the U. S. these very fascist practices against which the country seeks to defend itself."

"We are gravely concerned at the failure of the constituted Federal authorities to protect the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens of the U. S. to petition and to a secret ballot."

The signers of the letter said: "In state after state in the past few months basic laws of the country have been flaunted and violated, especially provisions of the United States Code and of the first and fourteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

"Citizens have been denied their legal right to seek signatures qualifying the candidates of a political party for the November ballot. Citizens who have exercised their indubitable right to sign such petitions have been intimidated, assaulted and arrested.

"We refer in particular to the attempts to prevent, by illegal and violent methods, the efforts of the largest minority party in the country, the Communist Party, to conform to the statutory requirements in the different states for placing candidates on the ballot.

"It is as citizens who are not members of that party and who do not subscribe to its principles, program, or policy, that we state our belief, with the majority of Americans and in keeping with American tradition, in the constitutionally guaranteed right of minority parties, however, unpopular, to be heard by the voters and to be judged by them in the manner prescribed by law.

"In our opinion, respect for the democratic laws and traditions of the nation are essential, especially at this time when the competence and soundness of the democratic form of government are being questioned denigrated.

"The arrests, intimidations, and outright constitutional violations committed by self-styled vigilante and 'patriotic' groups, certain newspapers, and an increasing number of local officials against this party's attempts to appear on the ballot have been cited daily in the press."

15. MEDICAL BUREAU AND NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

Exhibits Nos. 33-34: Photostats of the front and reverse sides of the letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

On Exhibit No. 34, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the sponsors of this organization.

In its report to the House of Representatives in January 1940, the Special Committee on un-American Activities found the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to be a Communist front organization.

(These exhibits are on file with the committee.)

18. DEFENSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Exhibit No. 35: Photostat of page 2 of the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941.

On this exhibit, the name of Goodwin Watson appears as one of the signers of the statement defending the Communist Party.

It is to be recalled that this defense of the Communist Party was made at a period which marked the height of the communist-led sabotage strikes in America's defense industries.

18. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN COMMON SENSE MAGAZINE AUGUST 1934

Exhibits Nos. 56-58: Photostats of an article entitled "The Great Choice" which appeared in Common Sense Magazine of August 1934.

The aforementioned article by Goodwin Watson has as its main thesis the support of the Communist view of sudden and sweeping revolution as opposed to the socialist view of gradual transformation of society.

Goodwin Watson has objected to the quotation of isolated sentences or passages from this article on the ground that such quotation wrests the passage from its context and therefore alters its meaning. A careful reading of the article in its entirety leaves an impression of a more radical and revolutionary viewpoint than a reading of any single sentence or passage from the article.

EXHIBITS NOS. 56-58

THE GREAT CHOICE

REFORMATION OR TRANSFORMATION?

By Goodwin Watson

The average citizen thinks that the advocates of swift change by revolution are merely hot-headed. He may be aware of the tragedy which has stalked the footsteps of "gradual" reformers in Europe, but he is inclined to think that this country is different and that we move slowly by nature. In this article a well known Professor of Psychology shows that not only has gradualism always failed in its attempt to uproot the profit system, but from the humanitarian and psychological points of view the methods of reformation are often inadequate. Nature, he points out, by no means always "evolves." Nor need a rapid transformation be violent if well planned.

The many proposed solutions to the failure of our economic system take three broad forms. One would go back to scarcity, to the old pretence of laissez-faire, to the exploitation of the many by and for the few, to the days of "normalcy," under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. The second would advance toward a just society by gradualism, by reform measures, regulation here, government control there, government ownership at some other point. Many who advocate this position hope that eventually it will lead to the complete abandonment of the privately owned, competitive, profit-motivated, unplanned industrial system and the construction of a system dedicated to the public service.

The third position differs from this second not so much in goal, as in tactics. It is maintained that the scientifically planned and democratically controlled society must operate on principles qualitatively different, from those inherent in the old order. Hence the improvement of the old order will only permit it to survive longer, and delay the basic transformation which must eventually be made. The violence of the transition will be, according to advocates of the third point of view, not one bump lessened by the delay. Indeed the very evasion and postponement of the choice may make the inevitable decision more disastrous.

Our concern here will be with the second and third positions. Can we pass better laws, elect progressive officials, gradually socialize industry, and so create

the new society? Or must we decide for swift and fundamental (hoping that it may also be peaceful and legal) transformation)

THE EXAMPLE OF NATURE

There is much that attracts us in the idea of gradual change. "Not revolution but evolution," is the slogan. It implies steady constructive endeavor, as opposed to violent uprooting of established ways. We think of a growth parallel to Nature's method of building an oak by quiet and scarcely perceptible changes. "Haste makes waste," we add.

It would be easy to demonstrate that Nature does not always proceed by any such easy stages. Birth is a hectic business. In evolution more highly organized forms usually survive after very violent and bloody struggles. Surgery is not more moderate if it is delayed, or done bit by bit. There are proverbs to the effect that a stitch in time saves nine; that it is better to do today than to put off until tomorrow; that cutting off a dog's tail one inch at a time is not the humanitarian method.

MAKING A NEW START

Much of our modern civilization is due to man's success in abandoning an old pattern and starting along a fresh line. No improvement on the buggy gave us the automobile. No gradual reform of the balloon gave us the airplane. Electric motors did not appear as a result of gradual elimination of the undesirable features of gas or steam engines. The telephone and radio did not evolve by gradual increase in skill of shouting. The first progressive schools had to begin on a new principle, with a basically different attitude toward their tasks than existed in the old classroom. In the history of mankind periods of rapid transformation have occurred again and again. Recently we have seen abrupt changes in the organization of political and economic life in Turkey, Russia, Spain, Italy, and Germany.

Gradual progress has been the rule in the growth of the United States in recent generations, but there have been outstanding and important exceptions. This nation was born in the turbulence of revolution. The men of 1776 recognized a situation in which political rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness demanded a sharp break with the past. Later, the frontier moved gradually westward, but the discovery of gold in California and the development of the railroad produced within a few years a radically different state of affairs. Slavery became gradually less profitable up to a certain point, and then political necessity forced a swift and fundamental upset of the old order in the South.

CASES DECIDED ON MERITS

Both gradual improvement and revolutionary transformations have played an important part in the evolution of Nature, of culture, and of national institutions. Neither type of change can be assumed as more "natural," more "reasonable," more "humane," or more "American." Each case must be decided on its own merits. How is it with the present necessity to replace the broken-down profit system with one designed to produce and distribute all the goods and services the public can use? Shall we work for an all-or-none change, leaving the old order definitely behind us and building the new on a different foundation, or shall we work for gradual modification and improvement of the old, trusting that the net effect of many lesser changes will equal the greater one?

There are four major lines of argument: humanitarian, psychological, economic and political. Each of them leads to the conclusion that the apparent attractiveness of gradualism is fallacious; that only the sharp break brings promise of success.

The first argument, the humanitarian, needs emphasis only because we can so easily harden ourselves to accustomed distress. Let us remember that half the population will barely be able to subsist during these months while some of us argue comfortably about whether it would be better to grant them immediate release from their bondage of insecurity, or to take a generation in the process. While we balance alternatives, one man in five, anxious for work, will be kept from starvation by relief agencies, but given no part in our sanctioned economic order. Six million young people from our schools, according to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, are being so badly demoralized by forced inactivity that it will be difficult ever to salvage them. Many have lost ambition, have been forced to accept loafing and pauperizing as a way of life. Anyone who carries in his heart a lively picture of the abundance we might have, will resent every prolongation of the existing misery. Every cut in school budgets, in health services, in public recreational provisions, in opportunities for artistic creation

and scientific research, he knows to be needless temporizing. Once we fully realize that the suffering due to economic insecurity is unnecessary, that a co-operative planned society would eliminate it, then every day of delay represents a heart-rending price.

DIFFICULTIES OF A REFORM

Psychologically, reform is not potent to stir the American people from their passive, spectator position. Lincoln Steffens has shown the difficulties in the path of a reformer. Many young idealists make a few brave attacks on the inertia of the world, and then sink into the half-hearted cynicism and "futilitarianism" of middle age. The fate of any strong bill to curb the stock exchange or to prevent misbranding of food and drugs, illustrates the case. A strongly entrenched minority is more potent than the interests of the great mass. Most of us are too busy to get excited about each or many of the various reforms that appeal to us for support.

In contrast to this hopelessly difficult program, is the enthusiasm which can be built about a wholly new society. The small boy doesn't enjoy getting his old trousers patched, but a new suit is a different matter. A movement leading from poverty to plenty, from worries to security, from the old order of privilege and privation to the new equality of opportunity, from crimes and depressions to steady planned advance, from ugliness and falsehood to a civilization of grace and truth—this is a far different matter. One can afford to clear his schedule of other appointments. Such a movement may compel a truly religious enthusiasm. It can stir masses and create new leaders. It is akin to the pearl of great price for which a wise man will give all that he has.

The third line of argument is economic. Individualistic production for private profit and planned production for use are too far apart to be bridged by slow transition measures. Atomistic, piece by piece, "elemental" activity, as Polakoff calls it, can never be summed up into an integrated whole. The improvement of any one process in a factory may upset things badly, unless its introduction is guided by a plan for the whole factory. Economic planning can't be successfully undertaken; here a bit and there a bit. No one can plan the automobile industry, while other forms of transportation, steel production, all production, rubber imports and corresponding exports, highway construction, technological training, and distribution of income remain in the traditional anarchy. Mary van Kleeck's careful study of the coal industry, leads to the conclusion that it would be futile to nationalize the coal mines unless transportation and consumption of coal (i. e., practically all industry) could also be controlled in the public interest. Our economic life is one great balanced system for producing and distributing goods. The advantage of running it as a whole can only be demonstrated by running it as a whole. No single industry or geographical area smaller than a nation, can do an effective job on the new basis.

Politically the argument against a system part profit-dominated and part planned for consumer use is as old as the Biblical teaching that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Lincoln saw the threat of a nation trying to continue half slave and half free, and acted courageously to save the Union.

[HALFWAY MEASURES]

When we are quite realistic we must admit that there is little point in government regulation of banks or utilities if the banks or utilities are able to control the government. An isolated example of government ownership—the railroads during the war, for example—may be sabotaged by the advocates of profit from private ownership. When we make a man head of a publicly owned utility corporation, we ask him to operate it without maneuvering profits for himself or his associates, but we set him in the midst of a system more than 95% of which operates on the basis of getting all the profit one can. When this public servant does the very things for which, as head of any private concern, he would be rewarded in income, power and prestige, we point a finger of scorn and shout "graft!" The wonder is not the occasional corruption in public service under such circumstances—the wonder is that so little of the profit infection spreads into the few isolated spots of socialized activity: Schools, post offices, libraries, public health, public works, etc.

Sporadic election successes by a party which advocates gradual transition are likely to be embarrassing. A mayor of a city cannot do much to fulfill the hopes of any supporters desiring a new society. He is caught in the old system. Even a labor movement in precarious power, as in England a few years ago, fell between

the stocks, doing enough to antagonize capital and far too little to retain the support of workers. Once in power, officials of any party like to stay there. The inevitable result is compromise, delay, and loss of faith by the rank and file. In a desire to avoid conflict the party retreats step by step from its objectives (choosing always the notorious "lesser evil") and ends in a conflict unavoidable but now futile.

The political problem of gradualism is complicated by inevitable increasing economic breakdown. The old system will need more and more props in order to survive. As the defenders of profit from ownership see their power slipping, they become more desperate. They attack the very reform measures which have enabled them to survive. They welcome war or Fascism to give state support to whatever methods are necessary to safeguard old privileges and accustomed profits. This has been the actual course of events in European nations which faced the crossroad before we came to it, and which took the deceptively attractive highway of gradualism.

A fair degree of progress toward Socialism in Italy was wiped out after the march on Rome. Germany has had for years the organized labor unions, the public ownership of railroads and utilities, insurance for old age and unemployment, for which our radical reformers would like us to struggle. But when the system began to shake, the power of the old guard asserted itself behind the new banners of the Swastika, and the whole gradualist Social Democratic house of blocks was tumbled.

Austria has recently given the final and devastating answer. What happened in the leading Socialist city of the world, whose public housing projects had provoked admiration from all? The party rejected any sharp break with capitalism, and entered on a series of compromises. Loans were assumed with interest that could neither be paid nor repudiated. "Dollfuss is bad," said the leaders, "but Nazi-ism would be worse. We must hold to the lesser evil to protect us against the greater." Even when Dollfuss ordered the militant Socialist defense groups disarmed and disbanded the leaders said, "We must not act rashly. Better conform to this evil, than to run the risk of a worse." So step by step the gradualists were backed to the edge of a cliff and pushed off. The heroic four-day defense of a hopeless cause was bitter evidence of a loyalty in the rank and file which had been worthy of a wiser strategy. Again a people learned in tragedy that there is no safe compromise with capitalism.

One question is clearly answered. In the name of human welfare, for the release of idealism, because of the nature of our economic task, and with an eye to political realities, we must choose the swift, total transformation.

This does not mean blind, rash action. There are prerequisites of a successful shift from production for profit to production for use. This is especially true in a society dependent upon complex interacting, technological specialization. We must make careful plans so that the life of the cities will not be disrupted in the process of change. Food and water and light and police power and fire protection must be continuously available. Careful blueprints must be made of the whole new society, even though they will need constant revisions as we go. Personnel must be trained to operate these plans. Little nucleus groups of leaders must be ready to assume direction in every community. Mass support must be rallied behind plans and leaders. Granted these prerequisites the transition in a democracy may conceivably be complete and sudden, but peaceful.

Our national cavalcade stands today at a fork in the road. Disregarding those who would have us back up, the great majority want to move ahead. But which way? The road to the right looks easier. The slope is gradual, the track is broad enough for almost any vehicle. There is even room to turn around. Many have preceded us on this highway. The road to the left looks rocky. It rises very steeply. There will be no turning around if we start that way.

The fog is thick ahead and it is hard to see far. The messengers that return to us report that several vehicles have been wrecked on the broad highway to the right, falling into a steep chasm called Fascism which cuts across the highway not far from where we stand. Only Soviet Russia has gone up to the left, in an ox cart that was nearly wrecked before the trip started, but they report now that the road is growing better. Our machines are more powerful but more delicate than ox-carts. Can't we stand the rough beginning if we prepare the road, the cars, the drivers, and the passengers?

19. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE, DECEMBER 1934

Exhibits Nos. 59-62: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "Initiative in Our New America" which was published in the Social Frontier of December 1934.

A reading of this article in its entirety will enable anyone to decipher for himself whether or not Watson's viewpoint was un-American.

EXHIBIT No. 59-62

INITIATIVE IN OUR NEW AMERICA

WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR INVENTIVE GENIUS?

Before the assembled faculty and students of an Oklahoma teachers' college a speaker had given his vision of the new order that might be created. He had urged that we, the people of the United States of America, should extend (rather than cut down) production of all goods and services up to the limit of human wants. Only then would we have plenty of work for all, a secure abundance of goods for every worker and every child; only then could we come reasonably close to our American ideal of equality of opportunity. The president of the institution, a devout Christian with more connections in the world of business and politics than among scholars, found the vision attractive, but rebelled instantly when it dawned upon him that in order to convert these possibilities into actualities, it would be necessary to operate all kinds of production as public services and to deprive individual owners of the right of control. "That is red communism," he proclaimed, "and that means the stifling of all initiative and the end of progress."

As the social revolution now in progress sweeps us on toward a reborn civilization, one persistent and important challenge asks, "What will happen to initiative in this new America?"

We have prided ourselves on the selective immigration of the more enterprising and adventurous people from the old world. Yankee resourcefulness has been almost as proverbial as Yankee thrift. The pioneer spirit has found expression not only in the conquest of the frontier, but also in new inventions and in freedom from many of the dragging weights of tradition which in older nations hold back progress. We have produced with facility sewing machines, motor cars, bathroom fixtures, vacuum cleaners, and industrial mechanisms of every description. The American business man has served as a symbol for enterprise and ambition the world around. The public schools have tried to teach each boy that he might rise by his own efforts to be a president, a millionaire, or perhaps a movie star. In music, architecture, art, and literature our creative achievements have been less noteworthy, but not entirely without merit. Certainly an America in which initiative, originality, resourcefulness, and creative enterprise were stifled, would be thoroughly unsatisfactory. We will want to know why our people have shown so much initiative in the past, and we must make sure that they will have every chance to show even more in the coming order.

Let us note at the beginning that a shift from private control to public control need not necessarily eliminate the individual's hope for gain. There is nothing about a collectivist society which would prevent offering large monetary rewards for important discoveries or achievements. If we abandon the "profit system" in which goods are produced and distributed only to bring profit to private owners, we can still pay people in accord with the quality and quantity of service they render. The army is a non-profit enterprise but there are promotions and awards for distinguished service. A socialized economy could well afford to guarantee a life-time of ease and luxury to any inventor, creative artist, or social organizer who can do the world as much good as did Samuel Morse, Walt Whitman, or Henry Ford, if this policy would increase the number of such men. But would it?

Actually considerations of money gain do not seem to be very important. Inventors are well known to be impractical fellows. They tinker with many contrivances which come to nothing but junk. Cartwright developed machinery to make bread in his kitchen, a scheme for fire-proof houses, a three-furrow plough, a program of land fertilization; an invention for calendering linen, one for making ropes, another for putting velvet pile. At eighty years of age, at a seaside resort for his health, he invented a labor-saving device for pumping up the sea-water for warm baths, and only a few days before his death he wrote to a friend about a

contrivance "equally certain as it is simple", to work an engine by gunpowder explosions. Watt developed a smoke-consuming device, a drawing machine which he himself termed a "gimcrack", a scheme for drying muslin by steam, a new kind of clock, a copying machine for letters, a new kind of oil lamp, a scheme for getting illuminating gas from coal, and, as his "hobby-horse", a machine for copying sculpture. Ericsson devised, in a moment of need, a mighty mouse-trap which filled half his basement but caught neither mice nor rats.

No one who has any hankering to tinker around a shop is likely to get the mistaken idea that these men were trying mainly to make money. Orville Wright, in a recent interview, stated that the thought of profit never entered his head as he and his brother worked at their first airplane. Edison spent all his fortune (\$4,000,000) in a plan for using magnetite ore. The invention proved unprofitable. As he closed down the factory, and abandoned the little village, he commented, "Well, it's all gone, but we had a hell of a good time spending it."

James Rossman, in his "Psychology of the Inventor" tells about asking outstanding inventors: "What motives or incentives cause you to invent?" Less than 20 percent of the 854 responses mentioned money, although the inventors obviously lived in a civilization which provided the essentials of life only to those possessing money.

MONEY PROFIT AND INITIATIVE IN SCIENCE, ART, AND BUSINESS

In the field of pure science, the profit system has never been very important. The life and work of Galileo, Darwin, Pasteur, or Einstein show that hope of gain was to them a decidedly minor consideration. Among the lesser servants in the halls of science, ninety-nine of every hundred work today on essentially the same basis proposed by socialists for society as a whole. That is, the articles published in scientific journals are almost always written by men who make no private profit from ownership. They are men on small salaries or sometimes no salaries at all, most of them employees of state supported universities and research institutes.

If we turn to the arts, the evidence of the irrelevance of the private profit motive to the exercise of initiative appears even stronger. In a world which offers him no other basis of support the true artist still abhors doing "pot boilers" to make his living. Not even the most dyed-in-the-wool devotee of the profit system in business believes that the achievements of Shakespeare or Milton, Rembrandt or Cezanne, Thorwaldsen or Rodin, Beethoven or Toscanini are due mainly to the desire to make more money.

In social invention, the most important kind today, most of the novel proposals come from salaried teachers in the social science field. Neither Adam Smith nor Karl Marx hoped to sell his theories for great profit. It is amusing to hear what some business men think about the initiative now being exercised from Washington. It is not the lack of creative thought and action by government employees which sets the Liberty League and similar Tory camps howling that socialism (in which all workers become government employees) will kill all initiative. On the contrary, the more initiative public officials show, the wilder become the pained outcries. The real interest of this group is less in "initiative" than in the protection of special privileges for property owners.

There remains another center of contention: initiative in the management of business. Surely business at any rate, depends on profits. But do profits actually stimulate present day business initiative? They did in the past but recent years have made a big change. Business has itself brought about a type of organization in which resourcefulness and initiative are secured without any share in profits; while profits are enjoyed without making any contributions to efficient management. This upset for all who have believed that hope of profit was essential as a mainspring for initiative is caused by the modern corporation. The stockholders "own" the affair; they enjoy the profits and suffer the losses. But the stockholders contribute practically nothing to the business by way of initiative or invention. The corporation is managed by salaried officers, and corporation salaries are paid for service rather than ownership. This is the socialistic form of compensation. Plants are run by hired engineers. Inventions come from research laboratories. New ideas are developed by salaried technicians who never draw a cent of direct profit from their creations. Already business appears to have discovered by practical experience that profit from ownership has no essential connection with initiative. The best research seldom comes from the "owners"; almost always from persons, who according to the old theories, should have little "economic incentive" for inventing.

The place where profit figures most prominently today is in finance and speculation. But this is the very part of our economic system that causes the most trouble. Profit could not stimulate the men who flow the air mail through fog and night storm, over the broad prairies and dangerous mountains. The flyers were hired at fixed salaries. The profits from government contracts went to manipulators in the financial field. The chairman of the Board of Directors of United Aircraft and Transportation turned \$400,000 into \$12,000,000 for himself. Vice-President Frederick B. Rentachler invested \$275 which grew, by somebody's initiative into \$35,000,000. Charles W. Deeds put in only \$40 which later yielded millions. The initiative in these millionaire-making affairs, consisted in the cornering of 97% of government aircraft contracts by four companies, and demanding from the government a big subsidy in excess of the true cost of the service rendered. It is far more profitable, in the present order, to get into a copper pool as Mr. Cutten did, and make \$12,000,000 by watching the ticker, than it is to mine copper, or to string wires, or to invent new ways for using copper in human service.

CAPITALISM IS A HANDICAP

As a matter of fact, the present capitalist society, far from stimulating a desirable kind of initiative, is itself stifling some of the best creative potentialities of youth. There are several millions of young people today, each of them with his particular kind of talent and capacity to serve his fellow men—graduates of our high schools and colleges, who have never been able to get any kind of job, let alone one suited to their ambition and training. It is ridiculous to hear defenders of such a system proclaim their concern for "initiative."

The depressing consequences of a dying capitalism extend beyond business fields. The inventor may get his patent, but his invention, if important, is frequently bought up and laid away in the safe of a company which neither produces it nor allows others to do so. This blow to initiative is necessary to protect existing investment in plant and machinery which might be rendered obsolete by the invention. This perfectly good economic logic does not satisfy the inventor, whose passion is to see his creation in use. Even if there is no financial obstacle, there is always the conservative inertia of businessmen, anxious to be convinced that there is plenty of profit and no risk, before they put their money into the production of any new article.

Similarly a song may be ever so good, but in the present organization of publishing, it is almost impossible to have it sung over the radio, displayed in music stores, and generally brought before the interested public, except through the corporative agency that controls the outlets. The life stories of inventors show many a long and depressing search for someone who will provide funds which the public, in its own interest, could and should put at the disposal of any person who has an idea that might benefit mankind.

The negative case is fairly complete. The profit system today seldom stimulates initiative in invention, science, or art. It may, on the other hand, and in these days of its decay often does place heavy and discouraging difficulties in the way of developing potential talent.

GLIMPSES OF NEW POSSIBILITIES

It is not our purpose merely to show the defects of the old order. The builders of a new world will not be content with destructive criticism of what has been. They will be called upon to give constructive alternatives. How are matters to be arranged in the coming civilization so that there will be an advance of creative discovery which will surpass anything that the world has known in the past? This is a big order which no one can guarantee to fill, but there are some promising steps to be taken.

Are certain mortals born with inherited or instinctive behavior patterns which lead inevitably to invention, or musical composition, or other types of creative expression? If the matter were simple and biological the type of social order could make little difference one way or the other. Those born to be scientists, explorers, or artists would find their biologically determined role; and there need never be any worry in either a profit system or a socialized system about initiative.

Modern psychological thought recognizes in this doctrine a germ of truth and bulky husks of error. Certainly there are inborn individual differences in ability. Silk purses are neither born nor made from sow's ears. The clever inventor must have the right kind of brains; he will often be further blessed with good control of his hands. But in no case is the innate equipment alone sufficient. There

must be both the inborn capacity and the environmental encouragement, or else the ability never appears.

We must understand the type of social order to understand any discovery. Why has so much ingenuity gone into the development of bewildering financial organizations, holding companies, and the like? The individual ability which went into the making of personal fortunes in stock and produce markets, would in other types of social order have been given to serve other purposes. It is true that the inventor uses previous inventions, but which group of inventions he studies and what he tries to do as he puts together in new ways these fragments from the cultural tradition—this important “set” or “bent” is given him not by instinct nor by previous inventions alone, but mainly by the system of values of the society in which he lives. If “military conquest” and “getting rich” stand high in the accepted scale, then the best of initiative will flow into these tasks. If adult education, enjoyment of leisure, and the conquest of disease and poverty are really central in the structure of the new America, then we may expect a flowering of creative contributions to these socially vital purposes.

Evidence from the U. S. S. R. is conflicting at some points, but not in the emphasis given to research. The Soviet Union, despite its life and death struggle to get enough of the bare necessities for its people, has given a surprisingly large part of its income to research. Harold J. Laski¹ in his “Leningrad Letter” summarizes his recent observations in these words:

“It is worth while, I think, to emphasize also the passion of the Russian government for research. The savant, especially where his work has visible practical significance, has a consideration and a status in the Union which are remarkable. I do not know enough in detail to give any special emphasis to this generalization. But from such inquiries as I was able to make I should judge that not merely in the natural sciences, but in more humanistic fields like ethnography, history, law, linguistics (through the exploration of the hardly known peoples of the extreme north, the southeast, and the far east), work is being done of high significance. . . . It is not merely the enormous additions to knowledge that are taking place; perhaps even more it is the revision of accepted values that it would be significant for us to understand in all its fullness.”

This, then, is the first and most significant function of the dawning social order; to turn the creative thought of able men and women into channels which will be socially helpful rather than socially harmful. If putting a planning society in place of the old competitive individual profit system had no other effect upon initiative, the benefits would be enormous. But that is not the whole story.

AN INITIATIVE-BUILDING PROGRAM

The following five-fold program for increasing the manifestations of initiative might be carried out in part under capitalism, but would be more likely to be fulfilled under a socialized economy.

(1) Give to every worker opportunity and encouragement to think out and to try out improved ways of doing his work. Shun the regimentation which capitalism imposes upon the great mass of workers. Be willing to stand the cost: recognizing that a single discovery may offset the loss from hundreds of attempts which miss fire.

(2) It is not enough to open the door, or, as Mearns puts it, to “take off the lid.” Workers who have been routinized since birth will find the well-worn rut the most attractive pathway. A civilization which wishes a high level of initiative must take pains to develop in children the habit of violating tradition in a constructive way. Teaching in the new America may not be so comfortable, but neither will it be so monotonous. Parents and teachers alike will be judged by their success in producing valuable innovators—youths who know when and how to introduce better ways of living. The hope of progress lies in encouragement of the non-conforming impulses of youth.

(3) Select, by improved psychology and by practical tests, that one percent of the population best able to carry on research, and see that no economic limitations or worries prevent their receiving the best training that school and industry and community life in cooperation can give.

(4) Provide life-long jobs for those selected and trained workers in institutes equipped so that all the materials and help needed are available. Research and invention are becoming industries by themselves. In America today there are more than 1,000 industrial research laboratories with 30,000 professional employees and a daily expenditure of \$500,000. This beginning has been made

¹ The Moscow, July 27, 1931, p. 169.

under the old order; the new order must extend and improve these laboratories; directing them not toward stockholders' profits but toward social welfare.

(5) Finally, there is a "climate of opinion," to borrow Rugg's phrase, which is favorable to the growth of initiative, invention, and discovery. This can be deliberately fostered. Schools must tell the story of the past in terms of valuable discoveries rather than in terms of personal traits or glories of conquest. Newspapers and movies must reflect the drama of struggles to combat the common enemies of all mankind. The buildings in which we live, the utensils we are offered, the music which comes to us on the radio, must all show our appreciation of the high points in the past endeavor of men to create more satisfying forms of art. The highest honors in the family, school, village, shop, and nation must be bestowed upon those whose efforts bring socially significant progress.

When all these things are done we may hope for such a tumult of initiative that the Tories will long for the good old Coolidge-Hoover days when things stayed put and when new ideas and enterprises did not besiege them on every hand.

GOODWIN WATSON.

20. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE, DECEMBER 1936

Exhibits Nos. 63-65: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "We Study England" which appeared in the Social Frontier of December 1936.

Watson's writings are allowed to speak for themselves.

EXHIBIT No. 63

WE STUDY ENGLAND¹

Thirty adult students, ten of them post-doctoral, set forth this past summer to study social change in several European countries. Experience began to teach us before we sighted land. On our Cunard ship we found it hard to get good service. After fuming in vain we finally began to look into the facts. The room stewards were unorganized and carrying a staggering load of work. They drudged sleepily from early morning until after most of us were in bed, for surprisingly low wages. We were told horrible tales of wives of stewards assuming prostitution as a necessary supplement to the meager family income. The men in the engine-room were organized in a union and had much better hours and wages. Attempts to organize the kitchen and cabin personnel, however, had been thwarted. About this time the stewards on French liners, encouraged by the Blum government, had organized and had won a much more humane working week. We had come fresh from "activity programs" so we drew up a petition to tell the haughty Britons that we didn't like to ride on boats of companies that wouldn't let the stewards organize.

THE SAME OLD PROBLEM

That was an end to our teaching efforts. Once in England we were too busy learning. Riding down from Liverpool to London we saw the quiet old countryside breaking out in a veritable rash of new houses. A third of a million new homes a year, they told us. People moving out of slums at the rate of 6,000 a week. Rentals in the homes with municipal or government subsidies were only \$3 or \$4 a week. Two-thirds of the new housing built immediately after the war was subsidized, but 80 percent of the new cottages and flats in this present epidemic are built by private firms for purely private profit. Arthur Greenwood (Labor M. P. and former Minister of Health) said that the quality of this recent construction was very poor. It was the old story: built for quick sale.

Business conditions in England generally were slowly improving. Retail sales have been increasing by about 7 or 8 percent each year. Whereas 15 percent of the insured were unemployed in 1934, only 13 percent of this group were unemployed in 1936. Everyone seemed tremendously cheered because the number of unemployed had fallen below two million. Few worried because the rise in wages and the rise in cost of living had run almost parallel for the past year.

¹ This is the first of a series of five informal letters to The Social Frontier giving first-hand observations and comments upon social change in England, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, the Nazi empire, and France.

One very dramatic incident that occurred while we were in London epitomized the economic problem still to be solved. In Jarrow, the coal miners had been on relief time without end. Sir John Jarvis thought up a scheme to put them all to work and proposed to build a \$20,000,000 steel works in Jarrow. At this point the big steel magnates of England who had been pushed, somewhat against their will, into a kind of organization like our N. R. A., the "Iron and Steel Trades Federation" spoke quiet words of disapproval. Sir Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, thereupon stood up in Parliament and announced that he would have to refuse to license the proposed new enterprise because there was no assured new market and that the proposed new plant would displace labor at existing plants. Everybody, industrialists, politicians, and labor leaders, felt pity for the plight of the unemployed coal miners of Jarrow, but nobody seemed ready to do anything. Thus private enterprise puts an end to itself. A bill recently introduced into the House of Lords proposed a quota system for all industry. Future production would be held in a certain ratio to past production. Soon enough America may have to do likewise. Capitalism won't keep up purchasing power, so it can't tolerate competitive expansion.

The Cooperative Movement is supposed by many to be the divinely sanctioned solution to all that. Therefore, we spent a big share of our time looking into the meat neighborhood stores, the Tower House department store, the bargain basements, and the impressive offices of the various cooperative organizations. We saw the showrooms of canned goods, jam, tea, coffee, chocolate, candy, butter, margarine, flour, biscuits, soap, tobacco, shirts, suits, lingerie, hose, corsets, shoes, furniture, blankets, paint, radios, brooms, and bicycles which are now cooperatively made. Still, the typical cooperative store buys from private industry about 80 percent of what it sells (directly or indirectly through the Cooperative Wholesale Society). That raises one of our big questions about the future. Most of the present leaders within the cooperative movement believe that the co-ops would better leave all the basic industries to private capitalism. As long as the cooperative movement is dependent upon private enterprise for basic commodities and for transportation of goods, the cooperatives operate by sufferance. Capitalism can call quits on them whenever its rulers so desire. A minority of socialists, especially in the Royal Arsenal Cooperative Society, like to think of the co-ops as the first steps to a New Day. For the majority of hard-headed Gladstonian liberals who fill the chairs in the impressive Board rooms, such ideas are airy nonsense. Probably these solid gentlemen are right. The Jarrow case is certainly impressive. Under a quota system, new enterprise either private or cooperative will be restricted. Why build new factories when the old ones run only part time? And what shall it profit a society to take business from private Peter to give to cooperative Paul? We found ourselves approving Harold Laski's statement that the cooperative movement looked to be about a 6-percent improvement on capitalism. Is that all? There'll be more to say when we write about the cooperative movement in Scandinavia.

HOW THE ENGLISH CARRY ON

Politically, the big thing in England seems to be the fear of war. We heard extremely clever demonstrations of the impossibility of avoiding war, but we were led to feel that there was very little the English wouldn't give up, if necessary, to avoid war. They would rather give in before London is bombed than wait until afterward. This is easy to understand, but it does leave the Hitlers and Mussolinis, who have no such inhibitions, free to do whatever they resolutely set themselves to do. It is all a rather dismaying world situation. The liberals whose ideals appeal so much to us Americans seem to be rendered helpless by their very liberalism. They don't swagger and threaten; they seldom can speak with united voice; they must tolerate their enemies; they can't act swiftly, forcefully, or decisively. We found it harder to believe that the meek will inherit the earth.

England seemed less seriously split into left-wing and right-wing camps than we had expected. Radicalism is, of course, on the increase. There is said to be hardly a significant writer among the conservatives. The literature of protest mounts. Harold Laski told us that when he was at Oxford twenty years ago the Socialist Club had 40 members and included two dons. Today it has 800 members and includes 90 dons. It is true also that Mosley's group refuses to die from public scorn. Street fights occurred almost every other day while we were there, and several larger riots since are leading to repressive legislation which will probably make matters worse. Still, the overwhelming weight of British public opinion remains loyal to a conservative government which carries out policies much like our New Deal. The Tories in England are much cleverer than the American

Liberty Leaguers. They don't fight social security; they take it over. They don't fight planning; half the acreage in England is now being "planned" by 122 regional committees made up of the same men who always have ruled. They subsidize health and housing and workers' education and steal all the Socialist bait. The Labor Party can't uphold a foreign policy significantly different from the armed neutrality of the Baldwin regime. For all its reputed conservatism, the "City" this summer refused Hitler's urgent request for loans, but gave the largest export credit guarantee ever granted by Great Britain to the Soviet Union. In topsy-turvy contrast to this, the *Daily Herald*, official labor party paper with over 2,000,000 circulation, reads like our Hearst newspapers during an anti-Red drive. I clipped bits about the threat to "subvert British Labor to Communism," and "it is common knowledge that the Communist Party has recently received heavy subsidies from Moscow." All told, the Communist Party in England seems to have only about 2,000 members, and British Labor would not cooperate with them at any price. Maybe there is a revolution lurking behind some corner in England. Mr. Laski reminded us that Lord Milner on February 3, 1917, reported to the British Foreign Office that he could find "no signs whatever of revolution" in Russia. It looked to us, however, as though the Baldwins, like the Roosevelts and their successors, might last a long time.

In London they have a typically British combination of public and private enterprise which may prove to be a useful social invention. Health care of children in the schools is under the supervision, in each locality, of a volunteer committee of public-spirited citizens. When the government (London County Council) finds a good committee of citizens at work on their own initiative it may give them grants. It is not compelled to do so, but it usually does. The government furnishes the money, while the administration of the service is in the hands not of office holders, but of socially-minded volunteer citizens. This suggested to us a variety of forms of corruption and inefficiency, but it seemed to work well enough. All school children receive health examinations at school entrance, and at ages 8, 11, and 14. Treatment for dental and other physical defects is provided by the local care committee, and families pay according to their ability. No child misses out for economic reasons on any health service which the treatment centers can give. Recently the local committees, again with public subsidy, have been beginning on the examination of the pre-school children within their areas.

There is much more to write but the letter grows lengthy. We were interested in the chairs of Adult Education at Universities of Nottingham and Hull. We were not surprised to learn that teaching workers' classes was improving the methods used by Cambridge instructors within the university itself. We thought the Labor Colleges coined a neat phrase when they contrasted their policy with that of the Workers Education Association and said, "We are not impartial but candid." Our group was entertained by Dr. Clark, the recently elected Director of the Institute of Education and it is with one of his observations that I want to close. America, he said (I am quoting the sense of his remarks as I understand them—the language is only partly his) has gotten along thus far with a kind of blind and merely organic expansion. Increasing population, newly discovered resources, and new processes of manufacturing have submerged rather than solved the problems of the past. You just grow. Your schools during that period were concerned with providing entrepreneurs and technicians. Now America faces problems that cannot be solved by further expansion. Progress now is dependent upon better internal coordination. It reminds one of the point in biological evolution when the better integrated organisms began to win out over the great clumsy and stupid beasts. From now on your schools will have to be more concerned with studying social organization and social process. The center of emphasis in American life is shifting from the conquest of new areas to the better integration and coordination of what you already have. The social sciences will therefore have to be the center of your curriculum.

We saw this truth again in another light during our visit to the Soviet Union, but that must wait for a later letter.

GOODWIN WATSON.

EXHIBIT No. 65

We summon representatives of the organizations of the American people—trade unions, farm bodies, peace societies, religious organizations, fraternal orders, civic bodies, organizations of veterans, women and youth. At this Congress the democratic peace forces of America will map out a program for the defense of

democracy and peace—a program based on the necessity to protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people, keep the United States out of war, and help keep war out of the world.

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 Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union.
 Lewis Alan Berne, President, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians.
 George Biddle, Artist.
 Crissie Birrell.
 Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, New York City.
 John H. Bosch, President, National Farm Holiday Ass'n.
 Mrs. W. Russell Bowie, President, New York State Consumers' League.
 Hon. Usher L. Burdick, U. S. Representative, North Dakota.
 John D. Butkovich, President, Croatian Fraternal Union of America.
 Joseph Cadden, United States Chairman, World Youth Congress.
 William F. Cochran, Vice President, Church League for Industrial Democracy.
 Rabbi Samuel N. Cohen, Executive Director, United Synagogue of America.
 Hon. John M. Coffee, U. S. Representative, Washington.
 Howard Costigan, Executive Secretary, Washington Commonwealth Federation.
 Jerome Davis, President, American Federation of Teachers.
 John P. Davis, Secretary, National Negro Congress.
 Barrington Dunbar.
 Paul De Kruff, Writer.
 Melvyn Douglas, Actor.
 Theodore Dreiser, Writer.
 Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University.
 Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Writer.
 Abram Flaxer, President, State, County & Municipal Workers of America.
 Miguel Garriga, Vice-President, Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance.
 Albert Ghidoni, Secretary-Treasurer, District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America.
 Professor Willystine Goodsell, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
 Rudolph Harju, Secretary, Cooperative Unity Alliance.
 L. O. Hartman, Editor, Zion's Herald.
 Clarence Hathaway, Editor, The Daily Worker.
 Donald Henderson, President, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America.
 Alexander Hoffman, General Manager, Cleaners, Dyers & Truck Drivers Union, Local 239, A. C. W., New York City.
 Reverend William Lloyd Imes, St. James Presbyterian Church, New York City.
 E. Stanley Jones, Missionary.
 Rockwell Kent, President, United American Artists.
 Joseph P. Lash, Executive Secretary, American Student Union.
 David Lasser, President, Workers Alliance of America.
 Max Lerner, Writer.
 Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York Area, Methodist Episcopal Church.
 Rhoda E. McCulloch, Editor, The Woman's Press.
 Katherine McInerney, Executive Secretary, League of Women Shoppers.
 Lewis Merrill, President, United Office & Professional Workers of America.
 Morris Muster, President, United Furniture Workers of America.
 Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
 Samuel Ornitz, Writer.
 Bishop Robert L. Paddock.
 Reverend Elim A. Palmquist, Executive Secretary, Philadelphia Federation of Churches.
 Hon. James P. Pope, U. S. Senator, Idaho.
 Mervyn Rathborne, President, American Communications Ass'n.
 Reid Robinson, President, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers of America.
 Hon. Byron N. Scott, U. S. Representative, California.
 Reverend Guy Emery Shipley, Editor, The Churchman.
 Viola Brothers Shore, Writer.
 Reverend H. Norman Sibley, University Heights Presbyterian Church, New York City.
 Robert G. Spivack, Secretary for the U. S. International Student Service.

Reverend William B. Spofford, Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy.
 Donald Ogden Stewart, President, League of American Writers.
 Edward E. Strong, Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Hon. Henry G. Teigan, U. S. Representative, Minnesota.
 Reverend Worth M. Tippy, General Secretary Emeritus, Social Service Dept., Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Rosa Troiano.
 Frank Tuttle, Motion Picture Director.
 Professor David D. Vaughan, School of Theology, Boston University.
 Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Former National Executive Director, Young Judaea.
 Dr. Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
 A. F. Whitney, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
 Dr. Max Yergan, Director, International Committee on African Affairs.

National Officers, American League for Peace and Democracy: Harry F. Ward, National Chairman; Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Vice Chairman; Robert Morris Lovett, Vice Chairman; Margaret Forsyth, Acting Treasurer.

21. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE JANUARY 1937

Exhibits No. 66-69: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "We Study Scandinavia," which was published in the Social Frontier of January 1937.

EXHIBITS Nos. 66-69

WE STUDY SCANDINAVIA¹

American tourists abroad have always been rather funny, but recently a new and funnier type has appeared. I saw her in the office of a Stockholm travel agency. She had struggled her way through some forty winters; her hair was bobbed in loose grey strings; heavy dark spectacles protected her eyes; her bulk had been thrust into hiking breeches; and there she sat turning back and forth on the round stool in front of the counter.

"I've come to Sweden to study the cooperative movement," she announced.

The groan of the customer's young man was almost audible. They were drifting in at the rate of dozens a day. Most of them had never taken the trouble in America to drive a few miles to visit any of the cooperative elevators, creameries, markets, fruit shippers, credit unions, cafeterias, or filling stations. They had come to Europe for the summer, and thought to take in cooperatives along with the other strange sights: The Round Tower of Copenhagen and the surpassingly simple and beautiful Town Hall of Stockholm. Marquis W. Childs' book, when it first appeared, was none too popular among our friends in Sweden; but today he won't dare enter the country after this endless caravan has come to view the sights along the "Middle Way."

Arrangements for our party of educators had been made some months in advance, largely through the kindness of the Cooperative League of America. Not even the official commission, Messrs. Jacob Baker, Leland Olds, and Charles E. Stuart, sent by President Roosevelt and working in Scandinavia just at the time of our visit, could have been made more welcome. We were shown the inside of bakeries, the Luma light bulb factory, neighborhood stores, department stores, architectural offices, stately board rooms, workers' homes, and "co-op" training schools. Meanwhile we were refreshed every two or three hours with staggering meals.

GROWTH OF COOPERATIVES

We learned that in Denmark, following upon the Folk High School movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the farm marketing association standardized agriculture on a new high level, and won the British markets. They will rest on these laurels. In Sweden younger and more vigorous elements from the industrial working class began about forty years ago to organize consumer cooperatives, which now run about four thousand stores, selling mainly foodstuffs. In Finland the movement is still younger. It began both with the

¹ This is the second of a series of five informal letters to *The Social Frontier* giving first-hand observations and comments upon current social change in Europe. The first, dealing with England, appeared in the December number. Others will describe visits to the Soviet Union, to the Nazi realm, and to France, by a party of thirty professors and graduate students during the summer of 1936.

conservative rural people and the class-conscious industrial workers, but these two groups split in 1916 and now the "neutral co-ops" compete with the "progressive co-ops." They have two separate wholesale outfits, two competing sets of flour mills, knitting mills, match factories, etc. The figures of growth are appearing in scores of articles, pamphlets, and books in America, so we can leave them out of this story. We'll omit even the dramatic but familiar tales of how prices were cut on galoshes and electric light bulbs. Just note that in percent of the population belonging to co-operatives the world order is: (1) Soviet Russia, (2) England, (3) Finland, (4) Denmark, and (5) Sweden. The financial turnover in Sweden is larger than in any of the other Scandinavian countries, but cooperatives do only about ten percent of the retail trade of that country.

Because of the wave of almost mystical enthusiasm for cooperatives that now stirs middle-class America, it is necessary to be drastically realistic in this report. Cooperatives are not a substitute for capitalism; they are a method for preserving competition and preventing monopoly within capitalism. They do not aspire to grow into a new social system, but only to prevent certain abuses, notably, the gouging of the consumer, within the present economic system. "The heavy industries are so remote from the consumer that we do not dream of entering them," Anders Hedberg, a director of the great Luma factory, told us. Cooperatives have their labor troubles, just like other employers. There have been strikes; sales to strike-breakers are common; and the conservative branch of the movement in Finland has employed strike-breakers. The cooperatives subsidize private industry and own large blocks of stock in capitalist concerns. The cooperatives pay the going wage (or very slightly more), and when they build industrial towns they, like the steel companies of America, rent the homes to their employees for half the annual income of the worker. The homes, however, are Scandinavian: neat, clean, flower-and-lace-bedecked, and not to be compared with West Virginia. No light of a new world in the making shines in the eyes of the thrifty matron who buys at the cooperative store because it is nearer, more attractive, or a few *öre* cheaper. The solid young men who gather in the training schools of the movement study little about social planning but a great deal of business arithmetic, technique of window display, and American magazines on advertising. Members are not much more likely to exercise their democratic prerogatives by attending business meetings, than would be true in mutual savings banks or insurance companies in the United States.

"CO-OPS" OUTRODE STORMS

The cooperative managers are rather hard-bolled business people, and it is well that they are. They have had to meet some opposition which has been rough and dirty, although nothing to compare with what private business interests in the United States would do if cooperatives ever threatened to compete with them. Special taxes have been levied on cooperatives that private business did not have to pay. Private concerns sold at a loss in order to undersell the "co-ops," but happily for the cooperatives, there were in Scandinavia no big chain stores or similar industrial giants to carry on such warfare successfully. Petty restrictions have been legislated upon the cooperatives of Norway, Belgium, and France. Lord Melchett's "Industrial Enabling Bill" in England, would, if passed, prevent any further growth of cooperatives in competition with existing private business. The Union of Swedish Retailers has carried on what they think is strong propaganda against cooperatives, although it seems innocuous in comparison with the kind of attack directed by businessmen against Upton Sinclair in California. The favorite trick has been to get wholesale houses to refuse to sell to the retail cooperatives; but this has been something of a boomerang, because the cooperatives then proceeded to build their own wholesale societies and a few productive factories (margarine, flour, shoes, rubbers, light bulbs, fertilizer, knitting, business machines, coffee roasting).

We were able to satisfy ourselves that the cooperative movement in Scandinavia must have had exceptionally able leadership to weather all these blasts. In some matters the cooperatives, despite the absence of private profit which in the United States is falsely supposed to be the only effective stimulus to initiative, were far ahead of private enterprise. K. F., the big wholesale society of Sweden, for years spent eighty per cent of the profits of productive enterprises in research designed to improve those productive processes. The cooperatives are designing the most attractive modernistic stores. The cooperatives of Sweden lead the world in the art of pleasing packaging. They have worked out a plan for training their personnel which outdistances any vocational school I have seen

in America. Just consider this sentence from the booklet describing work at Var Gard, their country training school high on a hill overlooking the sea. "We know that a grown-up person chiefly learns a subject by being given an opportunity of comparing and making a choice between different possibilities." How⁹ that for sound educational psychology, growing out of the scientific laboratory, but straight out of practice?

COMPARE SWEDEN WITH U. S. A.

There is a further illusion among liberals, searching desperately for a nice comfortable "way out"—that the cooperatives are responsible for the high level of economic well-being in Sweden. Certainly, the people of Sweden seem well satisfied with their present status. The unemployed are negligibly few; industrial production is peak-high; Swedish homes are better electrified than ours in the United States; and they have no such extremes of wealth and poverty as we suffer. This prosperity is probably due to many factors other than the cooperatives. Let us suppose that in the United States, during the 1880's and 1890's our universities had been hot-beds of political discussion, and that our faculties were filled now by professors who had been leading the liberal fight during youth, and who in addition to teaching assisted as a matter of course in government. Let us suppose we had had honest elections with proportional representation, putting Norman Thomas in the White House and a socialist-radical majority in Congress. Suppose that three fourths of the congressmen were trade union workers or dirt-farmers. Suppose the government owned one quarter of our forests (a major resource in Sweden) one third of all water-power (supplying us all with electricity at an average cost of less than 2c per K. W. H.), roads including all major lines, all the telegraph and telephone system, the trams, the gas and water supplies, and had a monopoly of tobacco, sugar, and beer. Suppose the radio were state controlled, with no advertising permitted. Suppose our mineral resources were largely under public control. Suppose further that our labor unions were four times as strong and much wiser than the American Federation of Labor at its best. Suppose we had old age insurance for everyone, sickness benefits, state support for children of widows, unemployment insurance at no cost to the employees, and a system which brought proper medical care to everyone whether he could pay for it or not. Suppose our currency and discount rate had been so managed as to preserve a fairly constant purchasing power. Suppose we had no high tariffs, but that men with incomes of five thousand dollars a year paid direct taxes of eight hundred dollars without protest, with tax rates still higher on larger incomes. Suppose our cities owned a third of the land in and around them and had been for years building new homes and eradicating slums. Suppose we could watch a hundred children freely using a playground without adult supervision and see no quarrels. Suppose our secondary school teachers when asked about personality problems and discipline problems could answer honestly as did the puzzled Danish teacher, "I don't for years remember one case in which we had any such trouble." Suppose our country had had no war for over a century. Then it would be easy to imagine a very different economic situation in the United States without bringing in the cooperatives at all. Certainly the village stores of Sweden had little to do with that country's good fortune in getting England's lumber trade away from Russia, or in bringing about the sales of munitions to Hitler that have kept the Swedish factories at capacity production or the past several years.

Lest we have given a picture of undue peace and moderation, let us recall that in Finland fifteen of the two hundred congressmen are Nazis; that in Denmark one hundred fifty thousand small farmers live on what they can make from less than ten acres of land, mortgaged for fifty per cent or more of its value; that if the United States had proportionally large extremist movements we would have more than ten times as many communists as we have today, and would be witnessing the use of a fascist youth movement with a half million young men dedicated to boots (uniforms legally forbidden), salutes, and the "Führer-Prinzip."

SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOLS

The best thing we saw in Scandinavia was not cooperatives or glassware or even Smörgåsar. It was education. We saw a few of the surviving folk high schools of Denmark which had once brought a renaissance by means of a vital, spiritualized, personalized adult education which the universities and secondary schools despised. We learned of the attempt of the enlightened middle classes to go out and educate workers and how they failed. We learned of the

failure of university extension schemes to reach laborers. And then we saw worker's education arise from within the unions themselves and establish itself as the heir in the modern period, of the social dynamic which fifty years ago flowed from the folk high schools.

In Denmark, the Workers Education Association is maintained jointly by the social-democratic party, the trade unions, and the youth movement. The folk high schools of Denmark now reach not more than four thousand young people, but the village study circles of the Workers Education movement enroll twelve thousand people, and ten thousand more are in the city evening schools of this organization. They are getting not only the industrial workers but the lower levels of agricultural workers which the folk high schools missed. They study such courses as economics, international relations, music, literature, legislative reforms, the rise of the working class movement, hygiene, and trade and technical training. I picked up syllabi for adult groups studying Arlberg's text in social psychology and Christensen's *History of Class Struggle and Socialism*.

In Sweden the workers' education movement (A. B. F.) was founded in 1912. We met its first leader, Rickard Sandler, who has recently been Sweden's foreign minister. The state grants subsidies to A. B. F. but the unions and the social-democratic party control what is taught. Their fifty-eight hundred study circles guided seventy-seven thousand working young people through intensive courses. The labor college at Brunswiken trains the leaders of the local groups. All told the lectures, libraries, study groups, etc., of the A. B. F. are now reaching one and one quarter million people a year, or twenty percent of the population of Sweden.

Meanwhile, the universities go their secluded way. Only about two percent of university students come from the working class with its new political power and vital intellectual interests. The reason is partly economic, but more traditional. The Scandinavian universities are among the oldest of the world (Upsala 1477 A. D. and Copenhagen 1479 A. D.). Their main function has been to train clergymen. The story of their experience with the rising social movements makes a fascinating parable for American colleges. Following the democratic revolutions in France and Germany all Europe was excited by new ideas and new hopes. The Scandinavian universities were aflame with political zeal. The professors and students went out during the latter part of the nineteenth century to teach the workers. They wanted to save the workers from the perils of class-consciousness and class struggle. They tried, as so many liberals today would like to do, "to strengthen the connection between the students and the workers and to work against the class war. The liberal Student's Association in Copenhagen was a prototype of this movement, and the Students and Workers Society, founded in 1866 in Upsala, was typical. All these, be it noted were directed by students, from above."² Soon the students, attempting to serve "the community" as opposed to the working class, were drawn into service as strike-breakers. What little influence they had had before was entirely dissipated. The workers would have no more of university education. The parties of peasants and laborers, on pure class lines, were meanwhile becoming the most powerful in the country. Out of the labor movement came its own new educational program. The students went back to their cloister. The new educational forces, like the radio, have been taken over by the workers' organizations. The "black education" as the people called the professors and students in cap and gown, lingers on only as a remnant of the feudal and bourgeois traditions. Scandinavian life is being remade by educational forces from outside the academic world. The universities muffed their chance.

GOODWIN WATSON.

22. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE, FEBRUARY 1937

Exhibits Nos. 70-74: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "We Study the Soviet Union," which was published in the Social Frontier of February 1937.

In his original letter to Chairman Fly of the Federal Communications Commission, Chairman Dies of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities wrote, in part, as follows:

² Hammerich, L. L. "The Scandinavian Universities and Their Place in the Spiritual Life of Scandinavia." *The International Observer*, Vol. I, p. 48-9. Copenhagen, 1936.

Over a period of years, Goodwin Watson wrote numerous articles in praise of the Soviet way of life. At the conclusion of one of these articles, he expressed his liking for the "socialism" of Russia in the following manner: "I wish I knew whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I want to live."

In a letter to the New York Times, Watson complained bitterly that Mr. Dies had done him an injustice by charging that he, Watson, had expressed his liking for the socialism of Russia in the words which are quoted in the foregoing paragraph.

The conclusion of Watson's article entitled "We Study the Soviet Union" reads as follows:

One question lingered in our minds. Anna Louise Strong had stated it for us. "I wish I knew," she said, "whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I want to live."

The only point of any conceivable importance is that Watson expressed his preference for the socialism of Russia. Whether he borrowed the words in which he couched his preference from Anna Louise Strong or from Shakespeare or just from the dictionary itself is a matter of no consequence whatsoever.

However, the fact that Goodwin Watson did strive to rest his defense in large measure upon such an obviously infantile quibble says a great deal concerning both his defense and his mental processes.

In an article appearing in the February 1937 issue of the Social Frontier entitled "Soviet Russia," Dr. Watson stated as follows:

WE STUDY THE SOVIET UNION¹

Summer is not the best time to visit the U. S. S. R. Schools are closed, important people are away, the hot weather makes one miss soda fountains, and everywhere there are too many tourists—mostly Americans. Furthermore, we came the wrong way into the Soviet Union; the contrast between the creature comforts of tourists in Scandinavia and those of third-class travellers in Russia is disheartening. Next time we plan to use an Oriental gateway, and to come deliberately across Siberia. We could perhaps bring from China some better notion of what life was like when these Russian people were ninety percent illiterate; when one-third of the mujiks tried to scratch a living from the soil, with no iron plow and no horse or ox; when one peasant cultivated several narrow strips, perhaps miles apart (we saw some of this in the Balkans); when there was crop failure and famine in thirty-five out of fifty years; and when twenty-seven babies of every hundred born, died in early infancy.

As it was, I could compare what I saw this year only with what I had seen in the same cities five years before. The dresses are now more colorful, the auto traffic multiplied, the streets smoothly paved, the public buildings cleaned and painted, the parks gay with flowers, and the store windows well filled with a variety of goods. Five years ago it was often necessary to make a whole window-display from pitifully few offerings.

This first impression of increased prosperity is supported by official figures. In the five busy years since I was here before, industrial production and retail-trade have more than doubled, and the production of motorcars has been multiplied by five. Textile purchases in 1936 were 81 percent above 1935. Wages averaged 22 percent above 1935.

This letter cannot possibly hope to tell the whole story of even our little twenty-three day visit. Happily the Webbs² have written two volumes³ which give a more complete understanding of how things are done in the Soviet Union than a student could acquire in a year of residence and investigation. Anyone who will purchase and read these books can save the time of travel, the bumpy

¹ This is the third of a series of five informal letters to THE SOCIAL FRONTIER giving first-hand observations and comments upon current social change in Europe. The first, dealing with England, and the second, dealing with the Scandinavian countries, appeared in the December 1936 and January 1937 issues. The last two will describe visits to Germany and France by a party of thirty professors and graduate students during the summer of 1936.

² Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* New York, 1936, 2 vols.

buses, the slow service at meals, the scarce and malodorous bathrooms, the "summer complaint," the hotels and steamers uncomfortably over-crowded with tourist groups, the procrastinated and unceratin appointments, the border technicalities, and the high dollar cost of living in the land of Soviets. He will, however, miss some very thrilling compensating experiences which cannot be communicated in books, articles, or letters. Here I shall attempt only to state some of the major changes in social life and in education which have occurred within the last few years.

EMPHASIS ON ACHIEVEMENT

The outstanding characteristic of Russian life during our visit was the emphasis upon achievement, production, and efficiency. This movement, first dramatized around Stakhanov, replaces in large measure the revolutionary enthusiasm of the early years, and the "plan" enthusiasm of five years ago. Every newspaper was filled with encouraging statistics, not from paper plans of what was going to happen, but giving data on actual accomplishment. For example, in the Azov province by the Black Sea, where we visited collective farms, they harvested half of their thirteen million acres with combines this year, as compared with only fifteen percent last year. They were proud in the Ukraine of a grand average of 25.4 bushels of spring wheat per acre, despite whether conditions which might have brought crop failure under the old regime. No one knows better than the Soviet leaders—who reiterate the fact in many speeches—that their technique has not yet approached American efficiency, but they are proud of an accelerating increase in labor productivity.¹ If they wanted to choose the most favorable terms of comparison they might point out that while the general index of industrial production for the United States now stands at about 90 percent of the 1929 levels, their comparable index stands at 350 percent of their 1929 levels. On relative gain they certainly have us beaten; but, of course, they are still far below our standard of living. The per capita income of the Soviet Union, translated into comparable buying power,² was probably less than half what the average citizen had in the United States during 1936. The average industrial worker in Russia in 1936 earned 231 rubles a month, or about \$460 a year. Elementary school teachers were paid about 500 rubles a month; secondary school teachers 600 to 800 rubles; and university professors 700 to 2,500 rubles a month. Families with several wage earners fared very well indeed. The improvement was very noticeable, however, for all groups. Comparing their status not with America but with the life they had known before, most citizens of the U. S. S. R. could agree with Stalin's statement which one sees posted everywhere: "Life has improved, Comrades; life has become more joyous."

Marked changes in attitude have come with the rising standard of living. There is less feverish acclaim of ideals, and more solid confidence in themselves. The museums still tell the story of the revolution; busts of Lenin can still be seen in any public building; and long lines still form across the Red Square to visit the mausoleum where he lies; but time has already moved the events and personalities of 1917 across the faint line which separates present from past, into an accumulating oblivion from which the characters will emerge only on patriotic holidays and in history textbooks. The fervor is gone, and everyone has settled down to business. There is even the beginning of leisureliness. It was hard to find any educational or scientific leaders in the cities when we were there. They were on vacation somewhere in Crimea or the Caucasus.

New attitudes appear most clearly in the youth. Half of the population of the Soviet Union remembers no czarist days. Communist organization is as natural to them as breathing, and almost as taken-for-granted. An illuminating instance arose in our interview of the magnificent camp, Artek. The young director had told about their program of hiking, swimming, mountain climbing, horseback riding, nature study, art, dramatics, etc. We inquired: "What about political education? How do you train these boys and girls to be good communists?" He answered, a bit impatiently, "For a child the first principle of communism may be to brush his teeth! Political discussion can wait until he is older." Communism for him and for the children was synonymous with what we might call "good citizenship." They are really a fine lot of youngsters, these

¹ The figures show an increase over the preceding year, in output per employed man, of 9 percent during 1933, 11 percent during 1934, 16 percent during 1935, and 22 percent for 1936. Thus in 1936, labor productivity was 171 percent of the 1932 level.

² The best basis we could discover for comparing rubles and dollars was Anna Louise Strong's experience that, with high prices for dairy supplies but low rent, medicine, vacation, and theatre, a mode of life costing a family \$2,000 a year in the United States would cost about 12,000 rubles a year in the Soviet Union.

children of the U. S. S. R. Crying babies and children who have bow legs or vestiges of rachitis are hard to find. Wherever we saw children—in private homes, on the streets, in the parks or camps—we were impressed with health, vigor, self-confidence, clear-eyed friendliness. We remarked the poise of the youngster at Kharkov who forgot his recitation; the grace and charm, as well as social skill, of the sixteen-year-old girl who led community singing in the park in Leningrad; and the easy camaraderie of the Red Army boys. We saw officers and enlisted privates together, on leave, strumming guitars, singing and joking on a plane of apparent man-to-man equality.

MODIFIABILITY OF HUMAN NATURE

Most phenomenal of all was the Sabbath in Sevastopol. It wasn't really Sabbath, but the evening of a "rest day"—due on the 6th, 12th, 18th, 24th, and 30th of every month. Work five days and rest one, is the rule. Sevastopol is headquarters for a large part of the Black Sea fleet, and sailors overran the town. But how different we found it from any sailor town in other countries. No drinking, no dance halls, no prostitutes; none of the usual signs of the navy on leave. I found it hard to believe my eyes. I walked the streets alone until late that summer evening. The sidewalks were crowded with good-natured, boyish sailors having a peaceful, wholesome evening. It sounds dull and incredible, but that's what we saw. Some were in gangs, some with families, some with girl friends. Some sat in the beer garden and listened to good music. Some strolled among the flower beds of the park. Others walked along the sea wall. Some rested on benches and drank (truly) pink sodawater. Two girls of about boy-crazy age passed, looking with some admiration at the sailors. I followed alone at a safe distance for an hour or two, to see what would happen. The girls met some other girl and boy friends. They talked a while. Then they went home alone, under the bright moonlight. None of the sailors molested them or even spoke to them. Nowhere was there the "necking" which one would find in almost any American park, with or without sailors. All in all I suppose that nowhere could one find more extraordinary evidence of the modifiability of human nature, through the surrounding culture.

The psychiatrists whom we interviewed in research institutes and in a number of clinics, large and small, testified to the effects of the changing culture on mental disorders. It was said of the old mujiks that they knew only two forms of recreation; getting drunk and beating their wives. Alcoholics, at one time, made up 10 percent of admissions to hospitals for mental diseases, but the proportion has now dropped to 2 percent, and includes only the older people. There are almost no young alcoholics. We understand¹ that 44 percent of the young men and 93 percent of the young women do not smoke. (A trial of Soviet cigarettes suggests one explanation.) The psychoses due to syphilis at one time made up 12 percent of all admissions, but now account for less than 4 percent. It is quite possible to understand these changes as a result of effective campaigns to reconstruct the social conditions making for alcoholism and prostitution; but it is more difficult to know how to interpret Dr. Rappaport's statement that every psychiatrist with long experience testifies that cases of manio-depressive psychosis have become exceedingly rare. We tried to discover whether certain forms of neurosis might not have increased, but could find no indication in that direction. We asked about the new and stricter divorce laws, whether these might not increase maladjustment. The doctor, our host, smiled slowly and said, "The maximum cost is 300 rubles. I do not know any Russian who would keep a neurosis if he could part with it for 300 rubles." The incidence and course of schizophrenia, on the other hand, seems to be about the same as in all other countries of the world, a fact which seems to support the theory of organic, rather than functional, cause for this most common form of insanity.

SCHOOLS FOR EFFICIENCY

If we turn now to a few comments on education, we may well begin with the success of the drive toward literacy. Everyone seems to read. Even sailors out walking with their girl friends carried a book or two for profitable use of their leisure. On collective farms, in factories, parks, and on the street, people read newspapers, magazines, books, and pamphlets. Almost the only long queues we saw in Moscow were people waiting for the next edition of a newspaper at the corner news stand. The figures show more than ninety percent of this vast

¹ Kosarev, A. V. and Kravol, A. I. (Editors), *The Youth of the U. S. S. R.*

population with its 157 languages, literate. I find it instructive to compare this achievement with more than a century of rule by enlightened, capitalistic Great Britain in India, where ninety percent are still illiterate.

Our party contained some statistics-minded people who hounded figures out of every interview. This passion for percentages appalled our guides, but on the whole was better received in the U. S. S. R. than in other European countries where our demand for rough but numerical estimates aroused pitying smiles. We learned that in 1914 there were only about seven million persons in the schools of Russia, while today there are seven million in pre-school institutions alone, and twenty-six million in grade and higher schools. Ten institutions trained the teachers in the days of the Czar, but now there are 150 institutions preparing teachers. This past summer there were 4,000 new schools under construction at a cost of a billion rubles. Two-third of the pupils of Moscow attend school in buildings erected (often in forgivable haste) since the revolution.

The schools of the U. S. S. R. are no models for those of the United States. I state this quite bluntly, aware that my more conservative friends may be incredulous. The best schools for the Soviet Union would necessarily be very different from the best schools for America, because these schools serve very different societies with very different major problems. The problem of the schools in the U. S. S. R. is not to socialize attitudes; their whole civilization does that. Their society needs greater productivity, and the schools must therefore be directed toward increasing technical efficiency. The major social problem of the United States is not to increase productive capacity, but to introduce the kind of organization, planning, and cooperation which will utilize our enormous resources and superb technical equipment for social ends. Russian schools need to make of the rising generation competent engineers. Our schools need to develop socially-minded statesmen. Curricula and methods must vary accordingly.

In the Soviet schools we find strenuous competition for high academic marks. Pupils who rank highest in their studies may be rewarded with a vacation at Artek, the famous summer camp located in a setting approximating in grandeur the California estate of William Randolph Hearst. Only "otlichniki" (pupils with average marks of excellent) can enter higher institutions without taking entrance examinations. The selection is becoming very rigid. In the Moscow State University there were this fall 870 vacancies, but 2,044 applied for admission and of these, 715 were "otlichniki." For the School of the Heavy Industries there were 10,000 applicants but only 3,800 could be admitted. In the Power Institute 325 were chosen from 1,215 applicants. In the Architectural Institute this fall there were 100 vacancies and 753 applicants. In the medical schools of the two Moscow universities there were 1,600 openings and 3,400 applicants. At the Bubnov Pedagogical Institute in Moscow, 1,167 students applied for 630 admission places. The principle of selection of the ablest is being applied even after graduation. Among 3,400 teachers in the elementary and secondary schools of ten provinces, during this past summer, 622 were dropped as a result of a certification examination.

"What does this competitive struggle do to the personalities of those who lose out?" we asked again and again.

One answer was in the words of Stalin: "'Konkurs' (competition) and 'sorevnovanie' (cooperative rivalry) are two entirely different principles. The principle of 'konkurs' is the defeat and death of one and the victory and domination of the other. The principle of 'sorevnovanie' is comradely aid to those who lag behind, in order to achieve general progress."

Another answer was that so long as opportunities are increasing, even the defeated do not experience bitter disappointment. Children who did not go to Artek went to other camps. Fifteen million children are said to have gone to camp in the Soviet Union this past summer. Each year more children go to better camps. Each year additional higher schools are being built, and additional applicants cared for. If one is not admitted in the first examination and is determined upon one line of study, he can take free courses to prepare him to try again. But for everyone there is some kind of work, at good wages, with opportunity to enjoy life, to study further and to rise higher. In short, the greater success of a few does not constitute a personality problem for the others, if for those others there remain abundant and increasing opportunities.

The curriculum of the Soviet schools is much more conventional than that of our progressive classrooms. They stress mathematics, science, and foreign language because these are technically important. Recently there has been a strong tendency toward the classical in literature and art; "modernism" is taboo.

Contemporary Soviet paintings, in keeping with the more "settled" character of life, are not revolutionary or ardent, but represent the daily round of work, rest, and recreation among ordinary people in families, villages, and cities. In the great newspaper *Pravda*, during our visit (August 8) appeared a significant attack on those "vulgar sociologists who try to reduce the content and significance of writers to a classification of the social origins and leanings of the author. The perverted teaching of literature in our schools can no longer be put up with. The great artists of the past belong to the working people. These great artists are alive for us. Their works have not been in vain; their best works have stirred the minds of the people and have emancipated them. The classics, which are warm with the breath of life and the beat of the human heart, can help our youth understand not only the past, but also the present."

Robert Hutchins could hardly have made a stronger case for traditionalism.

GUIDANCE SERVICES SUSPENDED

Another recent move in Soviet education, running counter to trends in the United States, is the suspension of guidance services. The chief guidance officer in the Soviet Union was the pedologist, whose training was largely in psychology and child development. Pedologists did a great deal of mental testing and placement work. They are now officially "out." There are to be no more pedologists. No one knew just why. There was some feeling that the pedologists were neither capable physicians nor experienced teachers, and had no adequate professional tradition or standards. Because the decree hit not only pedologists but also the vocational guidance workers and the creative art centers, it seemed to us to have a more far-reaching significance. It came close, in time, to the abolition of the old student council which had broad powers in the work of the school, and the substitution of student organization concerned mainly with what we would call extracurricular life. All of these moves seemed part of a return to an older, more formal, more rigid, less child-centered, less "soft," kind of education. When the forms of a culture are in flux, youth may have the reins. When they are set, youth is kept in its place of preparation and subordination.

This does not imply that youth has a less satisfactory life. If ever there was a society which put its human resources first, that society is the Soviet Union. When there was not food enough for all, the children were given the milk and eggs. Although there were not houses enough for all, the Soviets built 4,000 nursery schools. Despite poverty, the Soviet Union supports a hundred theaters in which plays are written and produced professionally just for children. In the one month of June 1936 the city of Moscow opened twenty-six new parks and playgrounds for children.

Last winter the young communists held an "All-Union Conference on Children's Toys," in which youth leaders, factory directors, designers, craftsmen, and teachers cooperated in making plans for better playthings. The U. S. S. R. is not a child-centered world; but it does its best for children—and that includes expecting children to meet some high standards of service to society.

In the several clubs, camps, and communes which we visited we were impressed by the warm personal relationships between adults and children. Adults were seemingly never irritated; the children were apparently never embarrassed or unduly assertive. They quite frankly adored their leaders (the camp leaders were their school teachers also, in many cases). Our party discussed this superb adult-child camaraderie at some length. We interpreted it as due: (1) to the demand for workers which is so great that men or women who dislike children would never stay in teaching just to hold a good job; and (2) to the reinforcement of certain mores from the old peasant culture by communist ideals. It was a noticeable shock to come back into Western Europe, where people hit children. It was not hard to understand why Paul Robeson should plan, as he told us one memorable evening in Moscow, to bring his son to the Soviet Union to grow up among people who would never scorn the boy because of his race.

We approved the handling of delinquency not by the courts but by a commission from the department of education. We approved the clinics where nervous children might be examined not in the gleaming formality of a hospital clinic by doctors in white coats, but by a friendly man or woman in a room with home-like furnishings. Dzerzhinsky commune, where 800 adolescents, once orphans and delinquents, gross 22 million rubles a year making imitation Leica cameras, was new type of "reformatory" for most of us. The boys and girls are organized in groups of thirty, each with an elected "commander" and the council of commanders runs the community. Above the shop door we saw a chart showing which boys

and girls had made valuable suggestions for improving the machinery or the methods of work. The director said that more and better suggestions came from the youth than from their allied research institutes or their employed engineers. And this was the system supposed to deaden initiative! The commune was paying a hundred rubles a month to 75 of its best young people who had been admitted to universities for further education. A concert band, prize winner in all-Union contests, and the samples of art and drama which we saw, were excellent. Many of the young people had married and intended to make the commune to which they had once been "sentenced," their lifelong home. Dzerzhinsky was not merely lifelike, it was a genuine community of a high type.

On our last journey within the U. S. S. R., on a terribly crowded and stinking Black Sea steamer, after a practically sleepless night, our party of thirty-four took an impromptu attitude test. What had three weeks of experience across the Soviet Union from north to south done to our thinking? We had made up our own program of what we wanted to see and to do. We had visited factories, farms, and institutes. We had marvelled at the finest museum of child-and-mother welfare in the world. We had enjoyed the magnificent scenery of Crimea, where great mountains keep watch over a sunlit sea. Individually we had been as free to go where we chose, and see whatever we wished, as we would have been in Detroit. We had wandered about on subways, streetcars, busses, and many miles on foot. Some of us had bought and (for shame!) sold; been to church and been arrested; joined in demonstrations (for Spain) in the Red Square; and interviewed dissatisfied individuals in the secrecy of locked rooms. We had talked with Soviet leaders, with children, with Walter Duranty and Joshua Kunitz, and Louis Fischer. We had peered in all kinds of windows, visited both as invited and uninvited guests in private homes, and talked every language we knew. We had been treated in medical clinics, played in parks, and swum in the sea. One of us had received the offer of a job and another a proposal of marriage. So what of it all? Were we surprised? Pleased? Disappointed?

For each of us there were sights which we approved and others we disapproved, but how about the balance of judgment on the new civilization as a whole? One became skeptical and remained rather unfavorable toward Soviet life. A half dozen who came prepared to find a bad situation had been transferred into warm admirers of the communist scene. None who came with high expectations had been disappointed. The sum total would be more than ninety-five percent favorably influenced by this brief study. We had not always been comfortable, but we had been aware of a society directed toward the sustenance of major human values.

One question lingered in our minds, Anna Louise Strong had stated it for us. "I wish I knew," she said, "whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop socialism. Then I'd know where I want to live."

GOODWIN WATSON.

23. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE, MARCH 1937

Exhibits Nos. 75-77: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "Across Fascist Frontiers," which was published in the Social Frontier of March 1937.

ACROSS FASCIST FRONTIERS—I¹

At Tighina we changed worlds. A barbed wire fence and the Dniester River separate the future from the culture of the past. Nature left broad rolling fertile plains on each side of this significant stream, but tractor drivers on the great collective farms of the Ukraine can look across at Roumanian peasants tilling with ancient tools their tiny scattered strips of land. On one side of the fence and stream are Greek, Dacian, and Roman ruins, with beautiful medieval village churches; on the other are modern apartment houses, printing presses, schools, moving picture halls, and workers' clubs. All the newspapers we had been reading headlined the atrocities of the fascist invasion of liberal, democratic Spain. We came across the stream to four countries whose newspapers with one accord hailed Franco as savior of Spain from the murderous hordes of Moscow.

¹ This is the fourth of a series of informal letters to THE SOCIAL FRONTIER giving first-hand observations upon current social change in Europe. The fifth (part two of this article) will treat Nazi Germany, and the sixth France.

With mingled emotions we left the camaraderie of travel in the Soviet Union for the soft clean, comforts of a European sleeping car and the joys of selected foods and drinks. At last we were back where it was taken for granted that our dollars should purchase for us privileges which the majority of the people around us could never hope to have. Long repressed urges to go "shopping" could hardly wait for the attractive stores and low prices of Bucharest. So we left the land of Lenin and began to interest ourselves in the intrigues of Dowager Queen Marie, King Carol, and the Little Entente.

Thanks to the magnificent hospitality of the General Mayor of Bucharest, the American Institute of Roumania, the National Tourist Office, the Press Bureau of the Foreign Office, and a former associate at Teachers College, our party saw more of Roumania in a day than we could have observed by ourselves in a month. We saw typical peasant homes from various sections of the country, and marvelled at the artistic form which was given to cottages, costumes, carpets, churches, chairs, chests, and crockery. We learned that revolutionary tendencies among the impoverished peasants had been checked by land reforms. We were amazed to discover a law, not yet well enforced, requiring every high school to employ a psychologist. We learned of the field trips conducted by Professor Gursti which every summer make thorough studies of remote rural villages from the cosmological, biological, historical, economic, artistic, psychological, and other points of view. (There is opportunity, by the way, for some American students interested in rural sociology and anthropology to join these trips.)

TREND TO FASCISM

We were in Bucharest during the last days of the Titulescu cabinet, before the fascist, anti-Soviet, and anti-Semitic forces compelled a more rabid opposition to Bolshevism. Codreanu, leader of the fascist Iron Guard, has been steadily gaining in power. Last November, 200,000 peasants of the National Christian Party demonstrated against Jews and Bolsheviks in Bucharest. Antonescu, present Foreign Minister, gives every possible support to the rebel side in Spain. The division of the contemporary world between right and left runs into curious complications in Roumania. Foreign capital is so influential that Roumanian nationalism is anti-capitalistic. The Little Entente calls upon Roumania to join Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia in cooperation with France, but the Franco-Soviet treaty makes this cooperation smack of Bolshevism, which is tabu in Roumania. Influential Roumanian leaders would like to set up their fascist control in collaborating with Hitler and Mussolini, but Hungary has rallied even more vigorously behind the Swastika to get back some of her lost territory which is now Roumania. Hungary looks to Hitlerism to help regain the same land which Roumania, by appeal to Hitlerism, hopes to keep. Fascism means always a bewildering mixture of policies, but in Roumania the contradictions seem to be more apparent than usual. The recent cordiality between Hungary and Mussolini would seem likely to dampen Roumania's ardor for fascism. Poor capitalist Roumania, threatened by the dangerous example of communist success on the one side is also threatened by any extension of the Nazi empire on the other side. It is a fair guess that bitter as the choice may be, the rulers of Roumania will surrender territory to fellow-fascists before they will permit any socialistic reorganization of their economy.

On the hills above the Danube at Budapest, in 1222 A. D., King Andrew II signed the "Golden Bull" making Hungary the second constitutional monarchy of Europe. In 1919 Karolyi gave way to Bela Kun and for a few troubled months Hungary was the second communist government in Europe. But two years before Mussolini marched on Rome, Horthy seized power, executed 20,000 citizens suspected of radical leanings, and set up not the second but the first fascist government of Europe. When the treaty of Trianon took away two-thirds of the territory of Hungary, nationalism became a ruling passion. Incidentally, the bureaucrats thrown out of jobs by that loss of territory make up a terrifying "intellectual proletariat" more fascist than Hitler. Not so long ago, several thousand Christian National Students assembled in Budapest, listened to a Roman Catholic priest assail Premier Leon Blum, of France as a "Red Jew," and were sufficiently inspired to charge upon the plant of *Nepszava*, socialist newspaper, smashing windows there. The mob then left for the Jewish section of the city, where they smashed more windows. Premier Goemboes, who has died since we left Hungary, was an aid to Horthy, and was especially responsible for organizing several hundred thousand of the ablest youths of the country in "Awakened Hungary," a fascist organization which seized control over the army and put in its own set of commanding officers.

The contrasts of Budapest were deeply impressive to travellers only a few days out of Russia. Aristocrats kept up their private estates, fashionable stores offered every luxury, but on the borders of the city we walked among five thousand families long unemployed and destitute, existing in dark, vermin-infested shacks with mud floors. Never, anywhere else, had we seen such poverty.

COOPERATING IN POVERTY

In Budapest we followed up further our interest in cooperatives. Beginning forty years ago, the cooperative movement has thrived in Hungary without producing any of the political or economic gains which its supporters hope for in the United States. Half the population of Hungary participates in one or more of the great credit unions, cooperative insurance societies, consumer cooperatives, or agricultural producer cooperatives. Cooperative factories make soap, candles, grease, dyestuffs, cosmetics, chemicals, brooms, liquors, paint, and printer's ink. A weekly newspaper carries the cooperative ideology. Rochdale principles prevail. The cooperatives are intelligently managed. But no American writers hail the Hungarian "Middle Way". The average worker in Hungary earns only about \$2 a week. The average child can't afford milk. The average peasant pays in taxes seventy percent of what little he takes in. One pig provides all the meat for a large peasant family for a year. The average peasant family gets only one pound of sugar a year. Many a peasant, so the leaders in the cooperative movement told us, comes to the store with one egg and trades this in for what he can buy. Perhaps he won't be able to afford a whole box of matches, and the storekeeper must count out ten or a dozen matches in this sale. Of course, the cooperative movement is no more responsible for the dire poverty of Hungary than it is for the prosperity of Sweden, or the militarism of Japan, but America has not usually been told all sides of the cooperative story.

We saw also more hope-inspiring sights in Budapest. We visited the State Institute for Child Psychology, an excellent clinic in which every elementary school in the city must send one of its teachers for special training in mental hygiene. The clinic also serves the community through a school for mothers and governesses. Some of the best planning that we came across in central Europe was being done by a national public health institute subsidized with Rockefeller money. They had plotted out and tested most of the sources of drinking water in all Hungary, and were hard at work on the control of infectious disease and the provision of rural nursing service. In addition we carried from Budapest an ineradicable impression of the charm of Hungarian music, costumes, and dances. One evening we saw a program upon which appeared residents of eleven villages from different parts of the country; each group presented typical dances, games, and festivals of its community.

CATHOLIC FASCISM

Socialist Vienna may have been depressing to those who loved the glamor of court days, but the present Vienna presents a gloomy outlook to everyone. Dr. Schuschnigg is probably the most unpopular ruler in Europe. He is the incarnation of the "lesser evil." Nazis hold him in contempt, but think him less offensive and far less dangerous than a socialist regime. Socialists have no use for him or his policies but tolerate him as somewhat better than a Nazi regime. Through pious Schuschnigg—as before through Dollfuss—the Roman Catholic church rules Austria with an iron dictatorship. Only a few months ago, Dr. Ernst Karl Winter, Deputy Mayor of Vienna, a Catholic and monarchist, was expelled from office as a result of an attack in the Catholic press upon his criticism of the "modern Jesuitical diplomacy of the Vatican in Austria."

Teachers in elementary schools after ten years' service attain salaries of \$50 a month. Army officer salaries, already considerably higher than teachers' salaries, were the only payments to public services to be increased in recent months. Typical of what teachers experience under Catholic Fascism was the order sent out on October 6, 1936, by the "Patriotic Front" about its coming demonstration. "Attendance at the manifestation is a straight duty; the heads of all departments are requested to establish lists * * * of all those absent on account of illness or other reason, and to report directly to the authorities." Thus, the cheering crowds assemble before the news-reel cameras to do honor to Dr. Schuschnigg's regime. Participation in the teachers' organization set up by the Catholic Fascists is now compulsory, and almost every Sunday and holiday is taken up with further compulsory participation by teachers in the pageants,

demonstrations, collections, and other activities of the one established party and its youth organizations.

The Socialists, one-time leaders of the city, have now been killed, driven into exile, or are hopelessly beaten in spirit. What a stirring New Deal they had once begun! Roosevelt must go far before he achieves a program like theirs. The Austrian Socialists actually did the things F. D. R. makes speeches about. They provided real social security, built cooperative houses, set up health insurance, and enriched life generally for the forgotten man. The Socialists were sure that they had chosen the peaceful, gradual, practical way. They wanted to avoid bloodshed, even at the last, when they were disarmed by ruthless reactionaries and shot down in the five-day battle in Vienna streets. I thought of the great pageant I had seen one May day in the Prater, when the youth of Red Vienna dramatized the story of mankind from slave societies to the brave new cooperative world of health and song and creative work. All gone now. Just a flicker of it I saw in an underground hall, where cynical actors satirized the present Catholic-Fascist regime in skits which could get by only a stupid or carelessly confident censor. Nothing in all this study tour has cut me so deeply as renewed acquaintance with brilliant and socially minded Austrian young people, once flaming with zeal to realize humanity's dream of a cooperative commonwealth, now cowed, disillusioned, sunk beyond hope or despair, living only for the wearying routine of day-by-day existence in miserable poverty. Only emptiness ahead. Is that what my children will experience in America, after the failure of gradualism and the apparently inevitable rise of American fascism?

GOODWIN WATSON.

24. COLUMN BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE DECEMBER 1937

Exhibit No. 78: Photostat of page 93 of the *Social Frontier* of December 1937, which contains a portion of a column signed by Goodwin Watson.

EXHIBIT NO. 78

Church papers also get out into the homes of America as no educational publications can. So we were glad recently to look over *Advance*, a Congregational magazine. The November issue would be good required reading for a friend of ours who has too casually concluded that religious forces are on the side of reaction. "Who's War Is It?" asks a writer just back from Spain. "A Close-Up of South Dakota Farmers" tells what drought and hoppers have done to hope. Next comes the startling story of Charlotte Whitney, convicted in California as a criminal syndicalist upon such evidence as a maroon piano cover thrown over a glass case containing flags and other fraternal paraphernalia. On another page the editor of *Advance* tells of the Columbia River projects. Our hope that Fascism can still be licked was considerably heartened by this sample from the church press.

A quite different picture of religious influence is taking form in Quebec. The Catholic Church, still pretending to be "non-political" seems to be in actuality the moving force behind the alarming "nationalism, anti-trust demagoguery, virulent anti-Communism, primitive anti-semitism, corporatism, and open sympathy for European Fascism." Is Quebec really Fascist? David Martin, from whose article in November *Current History* we are quoting, thinks not, yet. The Duplessis government, however, is as autocratic as Huey Long and as opposed to a closed shop as Tom Girdler. The real intent of Quebec's infamous "Padlock Law" against "Communists" in a province where few "Communists" exist, can be found in Cabinet Minister Coonan's statement, "A lot of people are communists and don't know it."

Other social institutions are trying to solve problems parallel to those which befuddle us in education. In the November number of *Social Work Today*, Grace Coyle asks what kind of social action, clubs and other groups in social agencies should take. Granted that the leader should try to get the group to see both sides, "Does he expect them to stay on 'both sides' permanently?" If not, what about the influential forces opposed to some desired line of social action? She sees a chance for the extension of the principle of "academic freedom" to some of the educational agencies outside the school.

For real thrill and keen social psychology, give us Martha Winter's own story in the same magazine. For fifteen years she was a social worker in a small town. Then she became a C. I. O. organizer in the same sort of community. But what a change. We are still anticipating the first publication, perhaps in *The Social Frontier*, of the experiences of a school teacher who has left the safe respectability of the classroom to take the cold plunge into organizing workers. It may not be long now.

Part of the joy in preparing a review like this comes from the discovery of a gem of purest ray serene in some obscure setting. Far and few are the readers of the *International Observer*, a popular quarterly edited by Peter Manniche of the International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark. In the current issue (Vol. II, No. 2) Harold M. Groves of Wisconsin gives some important facts about the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation which promises to bring together the long divided liberal and leftist factions. Socialists stayed Socialists, trade unions remained purely economic and nonpolitical organizations, the power of the dominant Progressive party was left practically intact, and yet all these groups together with cooperatives and farm organizations began to pull together in a disciplined, unified movement which is not exactly a political party. The platform is surprisingly strong and was adopted with surprising ease. Cooperatives, more state aid for schools, government-owned banking system, managed currency, and cooperative or public control of all basic monopolistically controlled industries, are supported. This will give the New Deal a star for wagon-hitching. There are at least a dozen other states in which something like the Wisconsin "People's Front" could now be created. Then we'd be ready to go places.

This month's award of a grimy black smudge goes to *Scribners* for a poisonous sketch of Arthur Kallet and the rapidly growing Consumers' Union. The Union must be a considerable threat to the *Scribners'* advertisers to warrant so vicious a distortion. Wharton even contrives to describe the C. R. strike without mentioning any of the central issues such as the exploitation of technicians, denial of right to organize, and despotic control, all of which were corrected in the more democratic set-up of C. U. (Advt.)

The press has had an easy time this last year, to associate the U. S. S. R. in the mind of the casual reader, only with purges, spies, sabotage, and executions. It is a pleasant relief to get a look at the November extra-size number of *Soviet Russia Today* which gives one hundred pages of pictures and stories on the impressive achievements of twenty years. The current *Research Bulletin* of the American Russian Institute likewise takes us away from political intrigue to tell how the Bolsheviks published half a billion books last year. Do you guess most of them are on Marxism or Dialectics? Guess again. The largest number of titles are scientific, technical, and mechanical subjects. Next largest group deals with art and literary criticism. Harold Denny (*N. Y. Times*, November 13) reports raises in salaries so professors with doctoral degrees will now be paid 1,500 rubles a month. (Anna Louise Strong says this means a standard of living about like that of \$250 a month in the U. S. A.)

25. ARTICLE BY WATSON IN SOCIAL FRONTIER MAGAZINE, OCTOBER 1938

Exhibit Nos. 79-82: Photostats of an article by Goodwin Watson entitled "Six Capitals," which was published in the *Social Frontier* of October 1938.

SIX CAPITALS¹

LONDON

Frank Darvall tells us that there is little real disagreement about British foreign policy. The Liberals and the Labour Party seem to balk at Mr. Chamberlain's chronic capitulations, but in his shoes they would take exactly his steps. They do not dare try to win an election by attack upon policies which apparently have kept the country out of war. It's ugly business, living under the shadow of modern bombers. Down at Cambridge the savants are scheming how to hide 20% of the population of London in the country, and the remaining 80% in "tunnels in the London clay, 50 feet below the surface, lined with steel sheeting. Their size would be 6 ft. 6 in. wide, and 7 ft. 6 in. high." They think they can thus bury the city alive, at a cost of only five pounds per head.

¹ This is Professor Watson's comment on the study tour which he led through Europe this summer.—Editor, *THE SOCIAL FRONTIER*.

A gem from Mr. Chamberlain's speech: "We are convinced that, given good will on both sides, it should be possible to find a solution which is just to all legitimate interests." It reminds us of the remark of a brilliant French commentator: "Mr. Eden is too bright; he gets too far ahead of public opinion. Mr. Chamberlain's virtue is that by the time an idea has become clear to him, it has already been accepted by all the rest of the British population."

Economic indices are not encouraging. Real wages in 1937 were 2% below 1936 levels, and the drop in 1938 seems to be still larger. Unemployment figures are rising again. New capital issues during August were the lowest for any comparable period since 1932, and for the year are running about 27% below 1937 levels.

Popular interest centers in none of these things, but in a record-breaking run at cricket, in the cheap new television sets (we can't have them in the U. S. A., because our radio is not publicly operated), and in the new gearless automobile which transmits power by spurting a stream of oil on a turbine.

Bright spots seem to be the Left Book Club with 55,000 members, and the Worker's Education Association, with 65,000 students in courses. The leaders in the Trade Union movement, the Labour Party, and the Cooperative Wholesale Society seem oldish, preoccupied, and stuffy. Perhaps something may come of the Labour League of Youth. Unity Theatre is stirring, but why are all the plays written in America?

ROME

Only in Rome do we meet glorification of war. For the Italian intellectual, international war is the test by fire for a culture. What is at stake, he says, is not the economic gain or loss, or the political prestige, but the survival of one spiritual outlook rather than another, one literature rather than another, one set of human relationships rather than another.

Visiting the Historical Fascist Exhibit, one is struck by the original banner of Fascism, hanging on the wall in the reproduction of Mussolini's study. It is dead black, and on it a skull holds a dagger in its teeth. The worst enemies of Fascism could hardly caricature it in a worse light than Il Duce's own chosen symbols.

It is a surprise to us to discover how weak and wobbly is the Berlin-Rome axis. It sounds good in the speeches, but the man in the street seems still unconvinced. There is a tale abroad that a cabinet official asked Mussolini, after Der Fuehrer's visit, "Did Hitler like Italy?" The Duce is supposed to have answered grimly, "I hope not." The Ballia, to which all the boys belong, and in which they carry little rifles, was named for a Genoese lad who threw stones at an Austrian officer in 1746, and love for the Austrians has not increased much since.

Incidentally, the Ballia organization was recently removed from the ministry of education, and taken over by the Fascist party. What's wrong with educators? Nowhere do governments want them to carry on the youth program.

The Dopolavoro (After Work) is building stadia for laborers, offering them theater and concert programs, and encouraging sports. Social insurance takes care of illness, old age, industrial accidents, unemployment, and provides an increment of 4 lire per week for each child in the family under 14 years of age. The forty-hour week is now adopted. Trained social workers serve on the staffs of large factories, to assist in family problems. The death rate from tuberculosis has been cut in half, and the general death rate reduced from 18 to 13 per thousand, under the Fascist regime. Pupils in elementary schools have increased from 3½ million to 5 million, during the past fifteen years. Only three years of schooling is compulsory, however. Some 700,000 children are going to day camps or full-time summer camps this summer.

The able youngster gets scholarships for secondary school and through the university, so economic factors will not prevent the rise of the ablest to leadership. University degrees are now required for higher governmental positions. All education is coeducational.

Industrial production in 1936 was 83% of the 1929 level. The land reclamation projects are moving more slowly; funds are tied up in Ethiopia and Spain. We slowly realize how largely agricultural Italy still is. Perhaps 3 million are in industry, one half million in government services, and 40 million in agriculture. Most of the peasants live still in dire poverty. Couples financially unable to marry can now get jobs and homes guaranteed in Africa.

While we are in Rome a group of professors fire the first salvo in Fascism's anti-Semitic campaign. Since then business, the press, the faculties, and student

bodies have been "Aryanized." Why? It seems obviously inspired by Hitler, but why has Mussolini fallen for this cruel fanaticism? What has Fascism in Italy to gain thereby?

Among the new buildings: a hospital which may well be the most magnificent in the world today, full of gadgets to delight the Yankee spirit; an orphanage as elaborate as an exhibit of modern furniture in Radio City; some new apartments with bomb-proof hide-aways beneath the regular cellars.

BERLIN

Berlin, on the surface, has not changed much. Same clean streets, attractive stores, well-dressed people. Stores with Jewish owners must now carry the name of the proprietor in big white letters on the window, but it is surprising how many of these there are. Lots of construction is in evidence, and there will presumably be more as the "Plan" unfolds. Food seems definitely poorer than it was some years ago.

Most showy advance of the new regime, outside the successes in international diplomacy, is the German Workers' Front. Literally millions of workers are being offered new opportunities for low-cost theater and concerts, summer trips and cruises at ridiculously low costs, factory swimming pools, sports programs, and cultural activities. Everything except self-determination.

New machines are laying concrete double highways, like cement squeezed out of a toothpaste tube advancing 300 yards a day, at a cost of only 3¢ per square yard, or about 60% of U. S. A. costs. The new roads have cut accidents 83%. New factories are preparing to put out a cheap automobile for the German worker, to sell for less than a thousand marks.

Unemployment is licked; thanks in large measure to the vast army and the cheap labor camps (C. C. C.). There is now said to be an acute shortage of labor in many lines, especially the building trades, iron and steel, and agriculture. A government decree forbids workers in "essential" industries to leave their jobs without permission of the state. Another decree forbids any employer to make any change in wages, working conditions, or shop regulations, without the written approval of the Reich's Trustee of Labor.

Statistics, whatever credit you give them, show a fairly successful record. Industrial production of 101 in 1929 fell to 54 in 1932, but since then has risen to 119 in 1937 and seems likely to average 125 in 1938. The increase is much less than the U. S. S. R. can show, but leaves the U. S. A. far behind. Of course, much of it is armament, but the index of consumers' goods was 97 in 1929, 74 in 1932, and 102 in 1937. First quarter of 1938 was 10% above the 1937 level. Imports and exports have risen slowly since 1932 and in 1937 were 13% above 1936. The average employed worker earned 45 RM a week in 1929, 30 RM in 1932, and 36 RM in 1937. Since cost of living was 100 in 1928, 76 in 1933, and 83 in 1937 and 1938, it would seem that real wages are now about 3% below the 1929 level, but 10% above the level which brought Hitler into power.

If the American labor movement restricts its demands to secure employment social insurances, recreational advantages, and a slowly rising standard of living, it would seem that Fascism might be acceptable to them. It would be much easier to get than genuine democratic socialism. Only in strikes for power (closed shop, sole bargaining agency, etc.) is labor asking for something which Fascism must refuse. Those strikes are precisely the ones which conservative and even liberal Americans are most ready to condemn, but they may be the most promising activities in American life.

ISTANBUL

Sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century, August Comte wrote, "The most radical movements of social upheaval will take place one day in Russia and Turkey."

On a beautiful pillow of red, presented to us by young people in one of the famous "People's Houses" which now act as social and political centers in every city and town, are embroidered six rising white arrows, representing the six principles of the People's Party, organized by the great Turkish leader, Kamal Attaturk. Nationalism—Populism—Statism—Laicism—Republicanism—Radicalism.

Most industry in the new Turkey needed capital. Attaturk wanted no foreign investors; also he was reluctant to subsidize private business. The result: state-owned "banks," one for each major industry. Each is run like a private corporation, but all profits accrue to the bank to expand that industry. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. "We don't want fascism, we don't want communism,

we don't want the excesses of private capitalism. We want our own system—call it Kemalism.”

One revealing incident: In 1921 Mustafa Kemal, the Gazi, defeated the Greek army of invasion in the battle of Sakarya. Upon his return, he was met by leading religious dignitaries who had been aloof, but now welcomed him with banners and urged him to join their parade to the tomb of the saint Hadji Baryam Vell, to give thanks for the victory. The ruthless leader bluntly sent them away: “You cannot steal the honor of victory from my soldiers. My brave troops, not your dead Saint, won our victory of Sakarya.”

Qualified teachers are too few, and too much absorbed in scholarship to help the villages. Hence promising young men are selected during their year of compulsory military service, given an additional year of training in practical village improvement, and then sent back home to serve as village teachers who really raise the standard of living. Elementary schools are progressive—secondary schools imitate the most traditional French lycees.

Turkey is unique in many ways—a state which lost much territory as a result of the World War, but today is a “satisfied” power. Good riddance to people hard to govern, say the Turks. There is fear of the aggressive Fascist countries. Many Turks believe Mussolini chose Abyssinia rather than Anatolia only because of the excellent Turkish army.

Ankara is the city of great contrasts. Old mud huts styled perhaps thirty centuries ago. Elaborate modern houses, quite in the international functional style. Oxen treading out grain on the threshing floor, and an Agricultural Institute, full of the latest German equipment and staffed by ambitious young scientists.

Among the governmental officials, writers, and teachers—a sense of living in the dawn of an exciting new day. Among the masses—lethargy, ignorance, poverty.

MOSCOW

My third visit—and full of surprises.

Naturally one looks for tension and suspicion: the U. S. S. R. is virtually at war on two fronts, and there has been a “purge” within, which surpassed even the impression given by our none-too-friendly newspapers. (War today doesn't begin with the declaration or the march of troops. Propaganda and industrial sabotage lead the way. The more mechanized the warfare the greater the role of sabotage.) Oddly enough, the people didn't seem tense. They were more relaxed, more at ease, happier, more contented than I had ever seen them before. We didn't hear spontaneous singing until we came into Soviet territory. There was very little of flag-waving or patriotic eye-wash. Just real people, feeling free to be themselves, carrying on important work in a realistic way.

How does it happen? Walter Duranty has a theory that no man ever sheds tears because his boss is removed as incompetent. Almost all the purges have been higher-ups. Almost everyone seems to feel that they were well justified and overdue. Almost no young men, of the post-revolutionary period, were involved. The high positions in the U. S. S. R. are filled today by men as young as those who built the American republic.

Second Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. is in process. Our hotel is made more interesting by colorful delegates in colorful costumes of remote and strange national groups—also their wives and babies. So far as we can gather all public “debate” consists of carefully prepared eulogies, and all votes are unanimous.

Impressed by the new trucks and tractors which instead of a gallon of gas, burn 12 pounds of wood chips or straw brickettes.

Impressed by the new construction—broad new streets—finished canals. Actual slum clearance! Every construction job has a “Help Wanted” sign.

Much impressed by the rising standards of education and the extension of genuine higher education. Expenditures for elementary and secondary schools are up 17% over last year, and by astronomical figures over Czarist Russia. More new schools built in two decades than the Czars built in two centuries. Shortage of teachers continues.

Tremendously impressed by the continuous rise in Soviet production, despite political difficulties. If 1929 be rated 100, industrial production in 1937 rated 430. The year 1937 showed an increase of 13% over 1936, which had been a very good year. The first half of 1938 shows increases in total industrial production over the corresponding period last year of 13% and it is encouraging to note that despite the regrettably heavy military expenditures (about 30% of the

budget), consumers' goods show an increased output of 11% over 1937. Agricultural production in 1937 was astoundingly good: the grain crop was 25% above the best previous record and 40% above the best Czarist record. The 1938 crop is still being harvested, but indications are that a hot wind just before harvest may keep it from rising much, if any, above the 1937 level. Fruits, vegetables, meats, and dairy products have never before been so plentiful. (One joy of this trip was visiting a modern ice-cream factory at Rostov, where we got the rich creamy American kind of ice cream in a variety of flavors instead of the usual watery vanilla custard which most Europeans make.) Probably these production statistics, if trustworthy, have a lot to do with the carefree state of mind we find among the people.

The Lindberghs have been visiting U. S. S. R. this summer, too. Since Charles doesn't rate as a Bolshevik, and since few American papers have carried his comment, perhaps we'd better quote him. "Many books on collective farm developments may be read, but only personal acquaintance can show vividly the remarkable achievements of the collective farms, the splendid village clubs and schools, the healthy peasant children. Five years have elapsed since my visit to Moscow in 1933. Such tremendous and remarkable changes have occurred in the Soviet Union during this time that I cannot delay my next visit to the U. S. S. R. for such a long period. In all probability I shall come again to the U. S. S. R. next year."

Dance orchestras will overlook one ace of a modern song, if they don't play "My Moscow." Our party can't get it out of our heads. Made us smile a bit when a lecturer in Berlin told us the Bolshevik spirit so disorganized culture as to make all music dissonant and formless.

PARIS

The most significant city in Europe today.

Here may be found Socialist construction which far outshines the famous Karl Marx Hof and other workers' apartments of Vienna. A pity so few American visitors get out to Suresnes, to see how 28,000 people live in a planned new garden city, with some of the world's most attractive schools, nurseries, community halls, and other public buildings.

Here may be found the most effective experiment with the Popular Front government. "What you call a brain trust in America, we call Left Wing parties," says André Philip. Will this movement, like the Social Democrats of Germany and Austria, and the New Deal in America, fall between two stools? Will it hamper capitalism without building socialism? We hear that when the Chamber meets in the late fall, the government will probably fall, and popular elections will have a chance to demonstrate the leftward movement of the public. Even the Radical Socialists go left, during a campaign for votes. After Daladier, perhaps Fossard?

Here is where President Roosevelt's delegation should have gone to study a labor movement. Industrial unions replaced crafts in about 1902. Within the past few years a new system of collective bargaining has been set up, and some 5,600 agreements have been reached. Whenever the most representative union in an industry asks for it, the government by decree makes the conditions and contract of that union binding upon the whole industry. So they have no "run-away shops." France has an interesting solution for the sit-down strike problem. A sit-down is illegal before arbitration, or in lieu of arbitration, or against the arbitrator's decision, but is recognized whenever the employer refuses to arbitrate or to abide by the arbitrator's decision. (Among 5,000 cases arbitrated, only 12 have brought protests by either unions or employers.) To the credit of the French labor movements be it said that with two million men on strike in June and July of 1936, no windows were broken, no lives lost. Perhaps the credit should be given instead to a Popular Front government which did not use violence against strikers.

Here in France, we see the remarkable phenomenon of a Socialist movement stronger among farmers than among city workers. Perhaps a 100% increase in price of wheat, with only a 35% increase in price of bread (through more economical handling) has helped to interest them.

Here, in the past two years, wage earners have had something like 15% increase in real wages, and the introduction of vacations with pay.

Here 108,000 among the 140,000 elementary school teachers of the country belong to a real labor union, the Syndicat National des Institutrices et Instituteurs de France et des Colonies.

Upon events here rests the continuance of the Franco-Soviet accord, which more than any other factor in the present world tends to hold Hitler and Mussolini in some check.

Here capitalism is giving way to something which will probably not be Fascism, despite the affection of some French reactionaries for Franco.

Those of us in the United States who want to learn something about effective labor organization, left-wing political action, "collective security," or socialist city planning, might well choose Paris for prolonged systematic study. To most Americans Paris probably still means only the Eiffel Tower, sidewalk cafes, the Louvre, and the Folies Bergeré. "A gay people, fond of dancing and light wines."

GOODWIN WATSON.

26. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY WATSON ON JUNE 28, 1938

EXHIBITS NOS. 83-93

Photostats of an address delivered by Goodwin Watson on June 28, 1938.

While the text of this address should be read in its entirety in order to appreciate Watson's viewpoint, it may be pointed out that he makes the following statement: "Our Government, and that of France and England, may pretend to be democracies, but they are in truth plutocracies." Furthermore there is nothing else in the text of this address which in any way contradicts or modifies the foregoing quotation.

Exhibits Nos. 83-93 are a reproduction of an address delivered by Goodwin Watson at a session of the National Education Association on June 28, 1938, and reprinted in the Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals, December 1938.

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PROMOTING WORLD CITIZENSHIP THROUGH SOCIAL RELATIONS ¹

(By Goodwin Watson, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York)

The ideal of world citizenship is as ancient and honored as the noblest words of men. "My country is the world; my countrymen are mankind," said William Lloyd Garrison in 1830. Still earlier, Thomas Paine, pamphleteer of our American Revolution, chose as his motto: "My country is the world, and my religion is to do good." Diogenes, when asked, said, "I am a citizen of the world," and Socrates also asserted that he was neither an Athenian nor a Greek, but a citizen of the world. Full seven centuries before Christ the most majestic of the prophets, Isaiah of Jerusalem, expressed his vision of the latter days, when

"* * * the mountain of Yahweh's house shall be established
On the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills
And nations shall flow into it. * * *
And He will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many
peoples;
And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into
pruning hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war
any more."

For more than two thousand years, enlightened men have sought an international civilization, which only makes more incredible our current catastrophes. Chinese official figures indicate more civilians killed in the recent bombing of Canton alone than there were American soldiers killed in battle during the entire

¹ Address delivered before a general session of the National Education Association, New York, June 28, 1938.

American Revolution to which our histories give so much discussion. In every land they long for peace, but now

" * * * grim peoples sicken tense
With agonized incredible suspense,
No opiate can calm the mad despair,
As war swoops everywhere." *

What a grotesque exhibit it would be for our World's Fair to assemble Hitler and Goering, Mussolini and Franco, and the Japanese General Staff under a banner reading, "The meek shall inherit the earth!"

Our Christian beliefs reverse the sacredness of life, but church officials bless rebel bombers who shatter towns, homes, and the bodies of men, women, and children. Since the waning of feudalism, the rising movements of international trade, international communications, of international science, art, and religion have united us increasingly in a world community, but now a new gospel of nationalism and autarchy limits the loyalties of youth to a single nation, empire, or race.

We cannot escape bewilderment and profound dismay. What has gone wrong? Why have centuries of aspiration and generations of education left us far from any real world citizenship? Must we abandon the world citizenship ideal as hopelessly Utopian, sentimental, and out of accord with basic human nature? Should we teach instead, an aggressive American nationalism or a defeatist resignation?

It is a tribute to strength of character that American educators have faltered so little in their faith. Educators must live in the insistent immediate but with an understanding founded on a much longer span of human history. We know that the long-time trend is toward international accord, despite the reverses of recent years. Science has not paid in the past, and will not pay in the future, much attention to the nationality of the research worker. A national culture which attempts to exclude the art or the music of other peoples only impoverishes itself. National religions and tribal gods must be, in this century, evanescent anachronisms. Even where national antagonism has erected most invincible barriers, trade finds a way. Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia still count each other best customers. The League of Nations is only a shell of what Lord Cecil and Woodrow Wilson meant it to be but Wilson and Cecil were moving with, not against, the tides of history. Even in its present enfeebled condition, the League is, as Mower has said, "the product of a thousand years of slow ethical growth * * * It speaks for a much larger proportion of the world than any other human institution." The weakness of the League has been not so much in its machinery as in the reluctance of first the United States and more recently the Fascist powers, to use that machinery.

The League technical staff continuously renders valuable services to world cooperation. Some forty international disputes have come before the League since 1920, and the great majority have been peacefully adjusted. The assistance of the League to refugees, regulation of international waterways, plans to check disease epidemics, control of drug traffic, contributions to child welfare, and activities of intellectual cooperation are achievements of considerable importance to the world community. The International Labor Organization, now headed by former Governor Winant, has obtained hundreds of ratifications of important agreements in the interest of fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children. Let us not cry out in despair that our effort has been in vain.

The treaty of Versailles had its iniquities defects, and the world is paying bitterly for them; but John Gunther reminds us that before the World War, some forty-five million people lived under foreign domination while the peace treaty with its theory of self-determination reduced this ethnic subjection to less than seventeen million. Historians look back only a short one hundred fifty years to the separate American colonies when Patrick Henry's statement, "I am not a Virginian but an American," sounded as extreme as would today the assertion of world citizenship ahead of Americanism. The family of nations known as the British Empire represents a notable step toward international cooperation, despite the fact that Chamberlain and his Tory government seem to be involved in a benighted front with Hitler and Mussolini.

One of the most notable international achievements of our generation is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Whatever our opinion as to the wisdom of its economic structure or the democracy of the Stalin regime, we should not fail to recognize that the U. S. S. R. is not a single nation but an alliance of eleven more or less autonomous republics, including one hundred eighty peoples, speaking one hundred fifty languages. The attempt to grant to each of these minority

nationalities the preservation and development of its own language, culture, and institutions with laws to punish any exercise of race discrimination, sets another bench mark for the history of cooperation among peoples.

Examples of progress toward world citizenship do not often make headlines. Perhaps we should be encouraged that the militarization and nationalization of youth in some countries is regarded as news, whereas efforts toward preparing youth to live in a world community can be taken for granted. Within the last few days, I came across a report of an article by the Swiss educator M. Jaquet, urging the schools of his land to "proclaim the value of principles which are common to all humanity and not merely to the Swiss." In every community in America, it would be possible to find some parents, some ministers, and some teachers who are, day after day, encouraging the ideal and the practice of brotherhood, with conscious effort to include all peoples of the earth. A poll of the students in a great midwestern high school a few weeks ago showed seventy-eight percent in favor of working cooperatively with other nations, rather than attempting national isolation.

The ideal of world citizenship need not be abandoned; the stars in their courses fight against excessive provincialism, sectionalism, and nationalism. Yet there must have been some basic error in the efforts of the past generation of educators. Rising armament appropriations in every country bear burdensome evidence of failure. Teachers in several European countries have had to begin instructing children how to put on gas masks to avoid strangulation and how to reach an underground cave when the sirens blow.

In a profound world crisis, moving daily nearer war, educators are forced to earnest self-criticism. Where has been our mistake? What do we lack?

We have shown children picture books of quaint African children, but that has not helped Ethiopia.

We have put on pageants with gay kimonos against a background of cherry blossoms, but our relations with Japan are not improving.

We have collected foreign stamps, we have learned folk songs and folk dances of other nations, we have even exchanged letters with children abroad; but the prevailing attitude seems to be suspicion of foreign ideas and support of campaigns to "buy American."

We have shown the horrors of war, as in the impressive "short" from the film *Broken Lullaby*, edited by the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association; but many of our youth look forward, with a sense of vague excitement and even anticipation, to enlisting in some new military crusade under the Stars and Stripes.

Good educational practice today calls for diagnosis before treatment. We must analyze the problem carefully before recommending remedial activities. Homes, schools, churches, and youth organizations have expended considerable ingenuity and strenuous efforts on education for world citizenship, with dismaying lack of success.

Perhaps we have been attacking the wrong phase of the problem. Maybe the obstacles to world peace today are not of a sort that will be overcome by more and more of the same kind of activities we have encouraged in the past. Perhaps if we look closely at some of the apparent failures, we can get a clue to a more adequate attack. Once we are clear about the basic problems, then we shall have criteria for judging the social relations which help or hinder.

Let us face a series of questions and contradictions and see whether we can discover beneath the surface of events the forces that now thwart our sincere desire for peace and cooperation.

1. Why do we build battleships instead of new homes? If a third of our people are inadequately housed, why is it that, according to the *Fortune* survey, increase in armament is the most popular spending that the New Deal has made?

2. Why is it that with the American people warmly sympathetic with China in her present distress, American business furnishes the oil, scrap iron, steel, and cotton to sustain Japan in the deplorable murderous assault? Why was the official American Red Cross campaign to aid Chinese civilians so faint-hearted, and so poorly supported—raising less than a third of its quota after six months?

3. Why did Wilson's dream of a democratic world state bog down in stubborn nationalism, tariff barriers, economic depressions, and aggressive dictatorships?

4. Why did we in 1928, as a world power with our farms and factories selling to world markets, set up prohibitive tariff walls against the advice of practically all our economists, leading other countries to inevitable reprisals against us which have cost us much of our world trade and destroyed our prosperity?

5. Why is it that although we, the people of the United States today, as sampled in representative polls, strongly favor a referendum on war, the Congress and the President decide with vigor that it would not be good for us to exercise such discretion?

Similar problems can be found in the foreign relations of other democratic powers.

Back in the days of the German Republic, the people of Austria voted overwhelmingly for *Anschluss* with Germany, but France and England refused to consider the idea. Hitler's absorption of Austria could hardly have seemed more attractive to the people of France and England, but Hitler's action is now unopposed by the governments of both France and England. Why?

The people of England, as well as the people of America were enraged over the grabbing of Abyssinia, but America furnished the oil which Mussolini needed, and England, which could so easily have closed the Suez Canal, granted Italy the thoroughfare for conquest. Why?

The people of France and England appear to have an overwhelming sympathy with the Loyalist Government in Spain, but the official action of France and England has been to blockade the Loyalists while permitting a steady flow of troops and supplies to the Rebels. Today, the British Foreign Office is so eager for accord with Hitler and Mussolini, neither of whom is very popular in the hearts of the British, that Loyalist Spain must be sacrificed and France, tied to Britain, must agree. Why?

Sweden has become almost a synonym, in this country, for cooperation, social intelligence, and world peace, but Swedish prosperity now rests on making arms for the rest of Europe; and we learn with regret that as Japan nears exhaustion of her gold and credit, the attack on China is extended by a large grant of credit to Japan from the great engineering syndicate SKF of Sweden. Why?

Or, to come back again, very close home, why does the International Number of the World's Fair Bulletin, which recently came to my attention, play up the announcement that Colombia, Cuba, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, and Venezuela are to send warships, naval vessels, and fighting planes, as part of their exhibit? Groups representing education and various social sciences have found it impossible to arrange exhibitions in what Grover Whalen calls "the greatest single institution of learning ever conceived" while seventy thousand square feet have been allotted for Japanese propaganda and one hundred ten thousand square feet with a million-dollar investment for Fascist Italy. Why?

Such questions as these leave us bewildered. Are we all crazy? Or is there method in all this madness? Can we find any principle of explanation?

One fact stands out through all our confusing problems. The will of the people to peace is consistently distorted and deflected by the actions of rulers. Economic and political power does not act in accord with the desires or the best interests of the masses of citizens who desire peace and world cooperation. In each issue: new homes versus battleships; protection of China versus sales to Japan; the ideal of a world state versus failure of the League; our world trade versus short-sighted manufacturing interests demanding high tariffs; popular referenda versus State Department diplomacy; Anschluss with Socialists versus Anschluss with Nazis; protection of Ethiopia versus sales to Italy; democratic bonds with the Spanish people versus business preference for fascism rather than socialism; and a World's Fair expressing social vision versus one expressing the profit-seeking of financing and controlling groups—the real interests of the people have been defeated by those at the posts of control in business and government.

All of our illustrations were chosen by design from the actions of the great democratic nations. The evidence is only too clear. Despite the longing of the people for peace, and despite many fine phrases from statesmen, the acts of the regime tend to keep old wars going and to start new ones. Nowhere is it more important for pupils to learn to distinguish words from deeds than in international affairs. Business and government almost invariably act in concert on international questions, even when in conflict on internal affairs. Both business and government seek added power, and war, at least temporarily, boosts profits and enlarges powers. No one wants war, of course, but war does not mean to the dictators of wealth and government what it does to working men, their wives, and children. The peace of the world is imperilled not by any innate blood lust in the common man, but by the working customs and relationships among the groups of our society.

Now this is what our citizens have not seen. We gladly renounce war as a national policy, but we hold with passionate fervor to all of the institutions and operations which step by step lead to war. Rare is the person who defends modern war as a social goal, but still rarer the person who does not defend the social means which result in war and aggression.

The speaker who decries all *isms* as foreign to America, and says we want none of them, is usually one hundred percent in favor of the most dangerous *isms* of the modern world: nationalism, chauvinism, imperialism, finance capitalism, opportunism, and militarism. These are what he means by Americanism. We have been brought up to accept a set of ideals and also a set of means which defeat those ideals. Loyalty to the existing social and political means which exacerbate international conflict is regrettably stronger than our loyalty to the ends of world citizenship. We might paraphrase an old quotation to say, "I care not who determines the ends of a nation, if I may determine its means." The means direct the course of the action, the ends usually serve only to rationalize or sentimentalize the means.

Now are we ready to restate our problem of promoting world citizenship? The trouble has not been lack of interest in peace or world cooperation. The trouble has been a failure to see and to affirm the difficult means by which alone the widespread desire for peace can be made effective in the modern world. There is a high price to be paid for peace. Educators and other molders of public opinion have not clearly stated that price. In consequence, the citizens of most countries today see their hope for peace waning. They thought to have peace for the asking, and world citizenship by means of convention speeches. They had no notion of paying any such price as change in their own economic, political, and cultural policies. In the words of Jeremiah, "They have healed the hurt of our people lightly, crying, 'peace, peace,' where there is no peace."

There is no cost-free pathway to world cooperation. The price is change in basic social relations. So long as power to control business and government rests with our present small, reactionary ruling class, we must expect enormous discrepancy between ideals of world peace and actions taken far more with a view to profits. The dominant economic groups even in democratic nations prefer to aid Fascist aggressors, because the alternative is a threat to their own prosperity and power. Desperate, the panic-stricken corporations, unable to employ the workers of America, unable to produce profitably the potential plenty which the people increasingly demand, will, of course, use our government to help them secure business abroad, and to help defeat "dangerous" ideas of industrial democracy. While American financial interests remain in power and in peril, schools may talk about world cooperation pretty much in vain.

The World's Fair illustrates beautifully our world problem on a small and comprehensible scale. In a time like this, when mechanical progress has far outrun social adaptation, the attention of the intellectual world turns to social sciences. But not the World's Fair. It promises to be hallyhoo for business, a coming to gigantic life of the advertisements in expensive magazines. We may object. As educators we regret the lack of interest in education except as some manufacturer of school supplies may be induced to advertise education incidental to his wares. Now what shall we do? Where is the root of the problem? Is it a lack of social ideals on the part of the common people? For answer, look to the official World's Fair leaders. What sort of social ideals would you expect from men famous as America's sixty ruling families?

Now it is one thing to complain about the neglect of education and of social research by the Fair, but quite a different kettle of fish to take control away from that kind of group. Transfer of control from privileged reactionaries to the progressive democratic forces of the nation is what we must understand to be the price of world cooperation in Fairs or Affairs. It is no good grumbling over the bitter defeat of our ideals, if we are unwilling to implement our purposes. More education in appreciation of world cooperation and in praise of peace will get us only deeper into the present contradiction between ideals and realities. Either we face up to the cost of changing social relations, traditional prejudices and perquisites, and building new loyalties, or we resign ourselves to helplessness in the world's distress. The old crowd in power will surely move along the old lines, to the same old disasters. Promoting world citizenship means really establishing new, more progressive, more democratic, and more socialized controls within our own economic and political life.

We cannot save democracy in the world unless we can save it at home. We cannot make our foreign policy express our desire for peace, unless we can make government more responsive to the will of the great majority of our people who

have no great wealth or political pull. We cannot make government more democratic so long as economic power, and the power to pay for propaganda which molds public opinion are concentrated in the hands of the few. Our government, and that of France and England, may pretend to be democracies, but they are in truth plutocracies. It is no hyperbole of the radical demagogue to assert that Mr. Millionbucks has at present an influence on legislative, executive, and judicial action which the man in the street, of equal or higher ability, cannot hope to have. The foreign policies of plutocracies will seldom advance peace and world cooperation. In the present economic crisis, foreign policies of all capitalist nations, will necessarily be far more concerned to keep plutocrats in power than to build world democracy.

This predicament defines our educational task. It is proving more difficult than we had imagined. The social relations which permit world citizenship do not now exist and cannot be set up except in place of social relationships which now protect the power of the few. We can eulogize world peace without serious opposition, but we cannot create the necessary conditions for world peace without finding ourselves participants in the most intense and bitter struggle of our epoch. So long as we propose only remote ideals, or even the kind of practical measures which do not greatly affect the balance of power between the few and many, we shall be undisturbed and ineffective. To get results, in building world citizenship, means to change social relations in the direction of greater opportunity for the mass of mankind.

Teachers like to think in terms of what can be done in a given class, in a given school, and in a given community. This is a sound impulse; it helps us to keep our feet on the ground. The usual error is to attempt to find some little analogy between classroom and nation. Since war is so disastrous, some teachers have directed their efforts by analogy against fights on the playground or against symbols like toy soldiers and popguns. So we miss the heart of the problem which does exist in every community and which does find expression in the curriculum of every child. Let us go from the great world problems to the life of our schools, not by analogy but by analysis. We have seen that the interests of the many, who long for peace, find no fruition in the policies of business and government, controlled by the few. That contradiction in control, we can study in any local situation. Every teacher works in a community in which the social relations reflect on a small scale the defects which entangle us against our will on the war-making side in world affairs. Has it not too frequently been true in every community that decisions are made by politicians, by men of wealth and influence, and by chambers of commerce, contrary to the wishes of the rank and file of common working citizens. Yet which alliance is more commonly sought by educators: membership of the superintendent of schools in the Rotary Club which represents the privileged few (often in a mellow and benevolent mood), or membership of the teachers in the labor movement which represents actually millions of citizens and potentially almost all of us? The schools seem already to have taken sides—the wrong side. Again, consider the newspapers and magazines that serve our local communities. Whose interests do they serve? Precious little democracy or world citizenship will be promoted in Chicago Tribune territory, for example, except by those few educators who enable a few pupils to take a critical stand against the barrage of propaganda for Toryism, imperialism, chauvinism, and militarism. Only when some of our great newspapers and radios, like our schools, are under the control of the public and not under the control of private owners and large advertisers, may we expect consistent support in efforts for democratic cooperation with all peoples of the world.

Let us review the argument in simple assertions.

Over many centuries, the world has moved slowly toward greater international cooperation. To-day we seem to be moving in the opposite direction, and dangerously near to war. The reason is not that the masses have lost their desire for world peace, but that small ruling groups in business and government act to defeat the interests of the many. To get world citizenship, we must first have governments which act in full accord with the desire of the people. To get governments which act in full accord with the desire of the masses of mankind, economic power must first be transferred from the organized few to the organized many, from the owners of industry, to all the citizens, or the consumers, or to all who work with brain or brawn. We cannot move from plutocracy to democracy politically unless we first do so in our economic institutions. Changes in social relations and social attitudes which must precede any important steps toward democracy are matters of education. They are matters of education not only in

broad questions of national policy, but they come right down into every community to the relations of farm owner and tenant, of housewife and household help, of banker and debtor, of businessman and laborer, of publisher and public, of consumer and storekeeper, of rising groups challenging the old power groups which will seek to preserve precarious privileges.

Reasoning not by analogy, but by analysis of the social forces, we have come a long step from world problems down to the way things are actually run in our own schools and in our home towns. We see the same kind of forces at work in complex international treaties and in our hometown papers. We make the big jump from the class of people represented by our school boards to influences which tie the hands of the League of Nations. Herbert Hoover returning from Europe reported fourteen Fascist nations, with two hundred forty million people, but our attack on dictatorship begins by organizing farm hands, truck drivers, office clerks, housemaids, news reporters, and school teachers to repel a tyranny closer at hand. The impotence of America in enforcing economic sanctions, which she could so easily and so powerfully have employed against aggressor nations, is only a cumulative consequence of our failure in local communities to overthrow plutocracy and bossism, by enlightened, organized, militant democracy.

Changing our present social institutions to more democratic ones seems, perhaps, a slow procedure to advocate, with the fuse of war explosion already sputtering. Organizing consumers, organizing labor unions, organizing political movements precinct by precinct, may seem to be a forsaking of urgent international problems. How much more satisfying if we could throw out some grand gesture! We might affirm the Kellogg Pact, but it would be evaded by a trickery of words. Japan has done so. We might propose a bill to take the profits out of war, but a Congressional committee would promptly eviscerate it in obedience to those who live by and for profits. All such bills that matter have been safely put away. We might sound a call for a referendum on war, but paid propagandists would quickly stir the American pulse to beat to drums and bugles. It has been done before. We might call for a quarantine upon aggressors, but would we look to governments which have already failed to use the power they undoubtedly had? We might rise and repeat the Oxford pledge, but are we ready to hand over rule of mankind to the ruthless terrorist?

Instead of any dramatic gesture, we have chosen instead, in accord with educational ideals, to lay a solid foundation of greater understanding and more genuine democracy. We are putting our shoulders alongside our fellow workers in other fields against the door of history. That door is already ajar and we catch a gleam of a land beyond, where fellowship, brotherhood, and comradeship shall be virile realities.

27. FREE EARL BROWDER COMMITTEE

Exhibits Nos. 94-95: Photostats of a two-page letter in which Goodwin Watson and certain other persons sent out a call for a conference to make plans for a campaign for the release of Earl Browder.

All of the signers of this letter have long public records of membership in the Communist Party or of close collaboration with the front organizations of the Communist Party.

NEW YORK CITY, October 18, 1941.

DEAR FRIEND: We who have signed this letter are writing to you because you have been interested for a long time in preserving civil rights in our country. We know that you are opposed to the persecution of any individual because of his political philosophy.

You are no doubt familiar with the facts concerning Mr. Earl Browder's imprisonment. He has already served seven months of a four-year sentence and has paid a \$2,000.00 fine imposed upon him because of a technical violation of a passport statute. The records of other cases of similar violations show that ordinarily sentences are suspended, or in the majority of cases, do not exceed thirty to ninety days.

The former Attorney General of the United States has stated that there was no question of moral turpitude involved on Mr. Browder's part. This factor, combined with the severity of Mr. Browder's sentence, has caused us and many other persons to agree with Mr. Wendell Willkie's declaration that " * * *

Mr. Browder was sentenced to four years in jail and a \$2,000.00 fine because he made a false statement on a passport application, or because he was a Communist Party member."

We firmly believe that in the present world emergency, when national unity is essential, our President will act favorably toward Mr. Browder's case. We believe that the release of Earl Browder will strengthen the conviction of the American people that democracy and justice in America are living realities.

Because we know that you share our belief, we ask you to join us in a conference to discuss Mr. Browder's freedom. The conference will be held on Saturday, November 1, at two o'clock at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73 Street, New York City. We will adjourn promptly at four o'clock. We will be happy to learn that you will attend.

Cordially yours,

Prof. Dorothy Brewster, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Aline Davis Hays, Rockwell Kent, Lewis Merrill, Arthur Upham Pope, Rev. William B. Spofford, Richard Wright, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ben Gold, Conrad Kaye, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Darwin J. Meserole, Harry Reich, Dr. Goodwin Watson, Dr. Max Yergan, Art Young.

28. PRESS REPORT OF WATSON'S ADDRESS

EXHIBIT No. 96

Photostat of a press account of Watson's address which was delivered on June 28, 1938.

TEACHERS HEAR PLEAS TO SAVE PEACE IN WORLD—SPEAKERS AT 100 MEETINGS EMPHASIZE DUTY TO SAVE DEMOCRACY BY EVERY MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL

The teacher's duty in preserving democracy was emphasized yesterday to the 15,000 delegates at the second day's session of the National Education Association convention. At more than forty meetings at which they heard more than 100 speeches, the educators were advised to use such diverse educational means as radio, art, music, mathematics, Latin, vocational guidance, literature and even lip-reading to fulfill their responsibilities for promoting world citizenship.

All expressed hope that teachers, through their instruction in these subjects, might lift the banner of peace and democracy from the supervision of government, business, church, and home.

Professor Erling M. Hunt, of Teachers College, Columbia University, who is editor of "Social Education," said that the nation's educational system would stand or fall with democracy. He said that to advance democratic citizenship teachers, especially in the fields of social studies, should work out "a practical definition of democracy" which can be taught and understood in schools and in life outside.

James Marshall, president of the Board of Education, speaking at the annual luncheon of the National Council for the Social Studies at the Astor, said that "the fate of democracy lies in the balance in the unsure hands of politicians, the press, and teachers."

He said that "teachers, particularly where they have tenure, are removed from the hurly-burly" and "can have the long-range view." He said that "the knowledge on which popular government depends is the understanding of facts, phrases, and trends," and that "here is where the teacher comes in as an analyst and interpreter and, above all, as the stimulator of skeptical and reasoning minds."

Daniel Prescott, professor of education at Rutgers University, told a session designated "Our Children" at the Astor that counter propaganda was necessary to maintain democracy against minority groups and "powerful" individuals trying to suppress free speech, free assembly and association.

He said that it was the teachers' duty to make the education of attitudes one of their primary concerns because "the very preservation of our democracy as well as the amelioration of our social problems depends upon the attitudes of our citizens."

Professor Prescott said that only two attitudes must be held in common by all citizens of a democracy, the first being faith in and loyalty to the democratic process and the second, willingness to abide by and act in harmony with the will of the majority once a vote is taken.

"These are the only political attitudes with which our children need to be indoctrinated consciously, emotionally and endlessly," he said, "but it certainly

is not safe longer to neglect a forthright, articulate inculcation of these two attitudes.

"No more can we rely upon the unconscious absorption of these attitudes by children from their parents, from the community, or from their history books, for the channels of communication are open and propaganda from abroad and from special interest groups at home is so effective and insistent that without counter propaganda for democracy we shall surely lose it, because our young people's attitudes will no longer include belief in it."

DEMOCRACY IS ON THE SPOT

At a session in the Horace Mann School Auditorium, Lyman Beecher Stowe, of the National Self-Government Committee, author and grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," stated flatly that "democracy is on the spot." Speaking at the first session of the National Association Officers, the only student body associated with the National Education Association, Mr. Stowe said that democracy was being assailed by Communists, Fascists, and Nazis "within and without our borders" and that "it is upon you young people trained as you are being trained that the future of our American democracy must chiefly depend, not alone for its success, but for its very continuance."

Before 3,000 cheering delegates in the ballroom of the Astor, Dr. Goodwin Watson, professor of education at Teachers College, begged the teachers of the nation to use their profession to indoctrinate children to overthrow "conservative reactionaries" directing American government and industry. He charged that these "plutocrats" were driving the United States toward Fascism and war instead of trying to preserve * * *

The teachers applauded him vigorously although he castigated them for failing to mold the opinions of their pupils against "manufacturing interests, plutocrats and Mr. Millionbucks" whom he charged were ignoring and opposing the inarticulate desires of the masses for industrial and political democracy and world peace.

Among the principal assertions of Dr. Watson, who is a leader of the social-frontier or left-wing group of educators, were that Soviet Russia was one of "the most notable international achievements of our generation"; that democracy can be achieved only if newspapers and the radio, like schools, are taken from private owners and made public agencies, and that the New York World's Fair promises to be only a "ballyhoo for business" despite its claim of education.

CALLS UNITED STATES A PLUTOCRACY

Dr. Watson said that "we can't make government more democratic so long as economic power, and the power to pay for propaganda which moulds public opinion, are concentrated in the hands of the few." He said that "our government and that of France and England, may pretend to be democracies but they are in truth plutocracies" and "the foreign policies of plutocracies will seldom advance peace and world cooperation."

"This predicament," he said, "defines our educational task. To get results in building world citizenship means to change social relations in the direction of greater opportunity for the mass of mankind."

The National Broadcasting Company, at another section of the morning general session at Radio City, demonstrated the function of the radio in promoting world citizenship and understanding. Dr. James Rowland Angell, president emeritus of Yale University and educational counselor of the company, addressed the meeting. The delegates also heard radio speeches relayed from educators in Europe.

At another general session at the Astor, Dr. George Stoddard, director of the Child Welfare Research Station, at Iowa City, Iowa, and Edwin A. Lee, director of the National Occupational Conference, of New York City, discussed child attitudes and intelligence and vocational guidance.

* * * * *

Mayor F. H. LaGuardia told members of the National Association of School Secretaries at the Astor, that teachers should not be permitted to label pupils as "problem children" and to segregate them.

The first business session of the representative assembly, governing body of the N. E. A., was held in the morning at the Hippodrome. The 1,400 official delegates, largest convention in the history of the association, nominated candidates for association offices. New York City delegates began a move to repeal the rule that members of the board of directors must be members of both local and state divisions of the N. E. A.

RECREATION TO FOSTER PEACE

George Hjelte, superintendent of playgrounds of Los Angeles, speaking at the same session which Dr. Watson addressed, advocated recreation as a means of fostering world peace, and objected to holding the 1940 Olympic games in Japan. On this objection the teachers shouted approval. Mr. Hjelte said that it should be a rule of the Olympic committee that no nation engaged in a major war could be host to the world's athletes.

He said that the democracy of a nation could be judged accurately by the freedom of its people to select and indulge in their own recreations. He observed that recreation had been restricted and directed in Germany and Italy because dictators realized that the inculcation of national ideologies could best be carried on while people were at play.

The twenty departments and numerous groups of the N. E. A. held sessions during the afternoon, and speakers representing art, music, and literature told of the contributions of these subjects to peace at the evening general session at the Hippodrome.

29. WATSON'S LETTER TO NEW YORK TIMES

Exhibit No. 97: Photostat of the letter which Goodwin Watson wrote to the New York Times and to which reference has been made in folder No. 22 of this outline of Goodwin Watson's views and activities.

EXHIBIT No. 97

[From the New York Times, November 27, 1941, p. 22]

DR. WATSON DISPUTES MR. DIES

To the Editor of The New York Times:

On Nov. 13 you published a report of the attack made by Chairman Martin Dies on my appointment as Chief Analyst of the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service. Two lines of evidence for my alleged communism were offered in the Dies letter. One was a list of some thirteen organizations with which I was alleged to be connected.

Passing over the disputed question as to the amount of Communist influence in many of these so-called fronts, the fact remains that I have been a member or been active in only one of the thirteen. That one is Consumers Union, a research agency with something more than 85,000 subscribers. Neither my secretary nor I could find in our files or memories any basis for the alleged connection with the other groups mentioned. Perhaps I have been on their mailing lists, or made a speech at a meeting they assisted in arranging, or signed some petition they were circulating for what seemed to me at the time a worthy cause. Certainly I have been much more active in some other organizations which in the usual view of the Dies committee, might be thought to be subversive because connected with labor or consumer cooperation.

The second line of evidence was my writing, which, according to Mr. Dies, had been that of an open propagandist for Russia and communism. Actually, among more than two hundred articles and books, I find only two brief articles devoted to the Soviet Union, those being reports of a trip, and full of both pros and cons. It is not surprising, although it is unfair, that Mr. Dies passed over all the criticism of the U. S. S. R. in my work, but it is strange that he should quote, as the one sentence supposed to be representative of my position, the following: "I wish I knew whether it would take longer for the Soviet Union to develop efficiency or for the United States to develop socialism. Then I would know where I want to live." Those words are in my article, but they are clearly stated there to be a direct quotation from Anna Louise Strong.

The ordinary citizen has so little protection from the kind of misrepresentation practiced in these two charges that I hope you will find it possible to give this some publicity.

GOODWIN WATSON,
Professor of Education,
Teachers College, Columbia University.

New York, Nov. 21, 1941.

APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE IN HEARINGS BEFORE THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE IN HEARINGS ON DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON AND DR. WILLIAM E. DODD, JR.

EXHIBIT A

DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE

American League for Peace and Democracy

Dr. Watson stated under oath with respect to this organization that:

"My connection, as I remember it, was that I joined in sponsoring a congress for peace and democracy held here in Washington."

Confidential information before your committee discloses that the American League for Peace and Democracy was of foreign origin, having its inception at the World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam, Holland, in August 1932, under the chairmanship of the distinguished French Communist, Henri Barbusse. The meeting was called at the instance of the Communist International and the manifesto was written in Moscow. The first chairman of the American organization informed that—

"almost from the first moment of the first session of the Congress, it was evident as Browder later told the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale, that the Communist Party was firmly entrenched in the leadership."

And further that—

"The American League has been, in effect, a part of the international Communist conspiracy to involve the United States in contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union or failing that objective, to cripple the United States through mutiny in the Army and the sabotage of basic industries and to inculcate class war and revolution here."

The organization dissolved after the Russian and German Non-aggression Pact in 1940.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

Dr. Watson stated under oath with respect to this organization that—

"I agreed to join a list of sponsors for a citizen's rally in support of public education, held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 13, 1940."

Confidential information before your committee discloses that the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom—

"stemmed from the American League For Peace and Democracy as an endeavor by the Communist Party to maintain the latter's component parts under local names."

American Student's Union

Dr. Watson stated with respect to this organization that—

"I was asked to serve as a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union."

but could not remember by whom, and further that he agreed with—

"the conclusion of the committee that it did eventually come under Communist domination."

Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary, during the period of Dr. Watson's affiliation, has stated under oath that the organization was under complete control of the Communists.

American Youth Congress

Dr. Watson stated with respect to this organization that—

"I led a discussion for some convention or something of that sort."

Confidential information before your committee reports on the American Youth Congress as follows:

"A left-wing group seized control from the group headed by Miss Ilma and organized the permanent American Youth Congress. Their platform advocated such things as the abolition of all forms of military training in high schools and colleges and the support of proposals of the Soviet Union for a complete disarmament."

"Comments of the Communist Press and the Communist leaders indicated that the dominating forces within the Congress were Communistic. Earl Browder at the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party reported, 'The Young Communist League, with the assistance of the Party has from the beginning played an important part in presenting the American Youth Congress and formulating its program and activities.'"

"The Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held in New York City, in May 1938, adopted a resolution which stated in part 'in this connection, far more attention will be devoted by the National Committee and State Committees to improving the political quality of the daily work and organizational activities of Party members in the * * * American Youth Congress * * *'"

This organization has been designated by the Department of Justice as a "front organization."

Conference On Pan-American Democracy

On being questioned about his name being found on the letterhead of this organization as a sponsor, Dr. Watson replied:

"It is entirely in accord, Mr. Chairman, with the principle which I followed, perhaps unwisely but consistently, of agreeing to sponsor organizations that seemed to me to have a worthy purpose," and spoke under its auspices.

Confidential information before your committee discloses that this organization was formed in December 1938 by—

"liberty-loving groups throughout the Western Hemisphere"—
calling—

"upon the people and the Government of the United States to cooperate with Latin-American Governments and democratic movements"—

and noting that—

"labor unions are the chief bulwark against Fascism, and urged the close collaboration between the labor federations of the Continent."

Prominent in the organization were Dr. Franz Boas, Gardner Jackson, and Dr. David Efron.

Dr. Watson went to Mexico on the invitation and under the auspices of this organization.

Consumers Union

Dr. Watson testified he was an active director in this organization for some 2 years under Arthur Kallet and at his invitation. Kallet, it is alleged, is a well-known Communist.

Descendants of the American Revolution

In response to questioning in regard to this organization, Dr. Watson testified as follows:

"Yes, I was a member of the descendants of the American Revolution."

Confidential information before your committee discloses that this organization was—

"launched to carry on the Communist Party propaganda under a name which might be confused in the public mind with the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution, it being believed at the time of its founding that it would constitute a powerful unit in the Communist united front in this country."

The International Workers Order

In regard to his connection with the above organization, Dr. Watson testified:

"I do not remember this connection, but I accept the exhibit as showing that I agreed to sponsor a 'Plays for Children Contest' under the auspices of the organization referred to."

This organization has been designated by the Department of Justice as a "front organization."

League of American Writers

Dr. Watson admitted on examination that he contributed an article on Anti-Semitism in American Psychology to a booklet published by this organization.

This organization has been designated by the Department of Justice as a "front organization."

National Emergency Conference For Democratic Rights

Dr. Watson's name appears as one of the signers of a letter issued in 1940 under the auspices of the above organization, and in explanation of it he stated:

"The protest asked the authorities to intervene against the vigilante groups and local authorities which had tried to keep the Communist Party off the ballot."

Among those signing the letter were Dr. Franz Boas, Max Lerner, and Malcolm Cowley.

Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy

Dr. Watson, on being questioned regarding his association with this organization, stated:

"I remember that I agreed to become a member of the Psychologists' Committee for the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy."

New America

Dr. Watson testified that he was a member of this organization, one of the organizers, and that he helped to draft the bylaws and its constitution; that he made speeches for it and for one of its predecessor organizations, Forward America. Members of Forward America and an organization called Young America got together and formed New America, of which Dr. Watson became a member of the advisory committee. Other leaders were: Dr. Thomas H. Wright, Richard Storr Childs, Thomas R. Amlie, and Harry F. Ward, all of whom as stated by Dr. Watson "with the possible exception of Dr. Ward, represented indigenous American radicalism." The need, goal, and methods of the New America as stated and approved by Dr. Watson at the time of its inception are now repudiated by him, but were never publicly repudiated by him. One of its goals was—

The abolition of the Profit system; the elimination of its incentives and habits, the legal forms and concepts by which it supports and the ideas by which it justifies capitalistic society.

Association to Free Earl Browder

In regard to this matter, Dr. Watson testified that:

"I remember the circumstances of this letter. * * * Dr. Pope called me on the telephone. * * * He called me on the telephone and asked me if I would be willing to sign a letter asking for a reconsideration of the Browder case. * * * I agreed to sign the letter, and I did so."

Among those signing this letter were: Professor Dorothy Brewster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ben Gold, Osmond K. Fraenkel, Rockwell Kent, Richard Wright, Conrad Kaye, and Dr. Max Yergan.

In regard to the writings of Dr. Watson, your committee, and the individual members thereof, recognize and endorse the right of every person to speak and write freely respecting methods for changes in government so long as no violence is advocated, but it is the unanimous conclusion of your committee that the writings and speeches of Dr. Watson tend to show a purpose on his part to change by overthrow our form of government, and the manner suggested to bring about such change is by "sharp break" which can only mean violence. Typical of this line of writing is an article appearing in the August 1934 issue of the Common Sense Magazine. It is too long to be reproduced here, but he uses such arguments against gradual change as the fact that—

"birth is a hectic business";

that—

"This nation was born in the turbulence of revolution";

that—

"The men of 1776 recognized a situation in which political rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness demanded a sharp break with the past";

and states—

"How is it with the present necessary to replace the broken-down profit system with one designed to produce and distribute all the goods and services the public can use? Shall we work for an all-or-none change, leaving the old order definitely behind us and building the new on a different foundation, or shall we work for gradual modification and improvement of the old, trusting that the net effect of many lesser changes will equal the greater one?"

"There are four major lines of argument: humanitarian, psychological, economic, and political. Each of them leads to the conclusion that the apparent attractiveness of gradualism is fallacious; that only the sharp break brings promise of change."

and also states—

"The fog is thick ahead, and it is hard to see far. The messengers that return to us report that several vehicles have been wrecked on the broad highway to the right falling into a steep chasm called Fascism which cuts across the highway not far from where we stand. Only Soviet Russia has gone up to the left, in an ox cart that was nearly wrecked before the trip started, but they report now that the road is growing better. Our machines are more powerful but more delicate than ox carts. Can't we stand the rough beginning if we prepare the road, the cars, the drivers, and the passengers?"

In an article appearing in the February 1937 issue of the Social Frontier entitled "Soviet Russia," he said:

"We had always been comfortable but we had been aware of a system directed toward the sustenance of major values. One question lingered in our minds. ANNA LOUISE STRONG had stated it for us: 'I wish I knew,' she said, 'Whether it will take longer for the Russians to develop efficiency or for America to develop Socialism. Then I would know where I want to live.'"

In an article appearing in the March 1937 issue of the Social Frontier entitled "Across Fascist Frontiers," Dr. Watson speaking of the Socialists states:

"What a stirring new deal they have once begun. Roosevelt must go far before he achieves a program like theirs. The Austrian Socialists actually did the things F. D. R. makes speeches about." "Only emptiness ahead. Is that what my children will experience in America after the failure of Gradualism and the apparent inevitable rise of American Fascism?"

In an article appearing in the December 1938 issue of the Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principles entitled "Promoting World Citizenship Through Social Relations," Dr. Watson states:

"One of the most notable international achievements of our generation is the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics." "Many of our youth look forward with a sense of vague excitement and even anticipation to the enlisting in some new military crusade under the Stars and Stripes." "So long as power to control business and government rests with our present small reactionary ruling class, we must expect enormous discrepancy between our idea of war, peace, and actions taken far more with a view to profits." "Our Government and that of France and England may pretend to be democracies, but they are in truth plutocracies. * * * In the present economic crisis foreign policies of all capitalistic nations will necessarily be far more concerned to keep plutocrats in power than to bring world peace." "Only when some of our great newspapers and radios, like our schools, are under the control of the public and not under the control of private owners and large advertisers may we expect consistent support in efforts for democratic cooperation with all peoples of the world." "To get governments to act in full accord with the desires of the masses of mankind, economic power must first be transferred from the organized few to the organized many, from the owners of industry to all the citizens or the consumers, or to all who work with brain or brawn."

Dr. Watson has been a prolific writer and while the excerpts taken by themselves and alone perhaps would not leave a positive impression that it was their purpose to overthrow the Government by "sharp break" or violence, taken in their full context are more convincing than considered separately, and the same pattern runs through his many magazine articles and speeches.

It is the recommendation of your subcommittee that by appropriate legislation funds now available or which may be made available for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, shall not be used for the payment of any salary or compensation to Dr. Goodwin B. Watson.

EXHIBIT B

DR. WILLIAM E. DODD, JR.

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE

Evidence in this case was obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Special Investigation Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Federal Communications Commission, the agency where Dr. Dodd is employed. After an examination of the evidence by members of the committee, Dr. Dodd was invited to appear, and did appear, to explain any of the allegations and make any explanatory statement that might be helpful to the committee in understanding the evidence. The evidence thus obtained and explained to the committee confirmed by the testimony of Dr. Dodd clearly discloses his public association with organizations found to be subversive.

American League for Peace and Democracy

Dr. Dodd testified that he had been both a member and an employee of this organization; that

"I was asked by Dr. Ward, of the American League for Peace and Democracy, if I would come and work for them in organizing a campaign to raise money for Spain. Also later it developed for medical aid and refugee aid to China."

(The résumé of the confidential information in the possession of this committee will be found earlier in this report, on p. —.)

He further testified that he did resign from this organization not because of its character, but "to return to Virginia, to my farm and to run for Congress."

Washington Book Shop

Upon being asked if he was a member of the Washington Book Shop, Dr. Dodd testified:

"Yes, sir, I am a member of that."

He further testified that he had read that the organization had been found to be subversive but that did not cause him to resign his membership.

Confidential information before your committee discloses that—

"On March 13, 1941, an agent of this Bureau visited the Washington Book Shop and a quick survey of the premises indicated that books dealing on Communism, reports of the American Youth Congress, literature of the American Peace Mobilization, articles on the Young Communist League, books written on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and magazines, such as the 'New Masses', were being offered for sale in great quantities. In the rear of the store was a room in which paintings were displayed and which also contained numerous racks of records, a great number of which carried Russian titles. A pamphlet advertising the Book Shop set forth in detail the fact savings could be had on certain books

but it was noted that none of the books dealing with the Soviet Union or any of the Communist front movements in this country were listed in this announcement.

"A confidential informant stated that after one trip to the Book Shop, she ascertained that the books were of a Socialist trend and the people were quite radical. Another source of information informed he had been receiving unsolicited literature from the New York Communist Party headquarters. When questioned as to his activities in the past which might cause the local Communist organization to anticipate he might be sympathetic to their literature, he informed that for the previous two years, he had been a member of the Washington Book Shop and that some of their members were admitted Communists.

"On May 9, 1941, the Washington Bookshop announced a lecture by Joseph Starobin entitled 'News Behind the Balkan Headlines.' An informant stated that the lecturer stressed the invincibility of the Soviet Union and treated the President of the United States and his Administration in a very critical manner. Information was received that a collection of papers and pamphlets published by the various subversive groups were prominently displayed in the doorway of the hall where the lecture was given."

American Friends of the Soviet Union

On being asked if he had ever spoken under the auspices of this organization, Dr. Dodd replied:

"I believe so; yes, once."

but could not recall the time or the exact place.

League of American Writers

Dr. Dodd, on being questioned concerning this organization, testified:

"I am a member of it and I was a member of it from 1939 and on."

and further, that he attended a conference or congress in June 1941 held in New York.

Confidential information in the possession of your committee concerning the League of American Writers states as follows:

"The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its folds many of the most prominent American writers, Communist and non-Communist. In 1939 the League began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy."

International Peace Campaign

Evidence in the case discloses that Dr. Dodd worked for this organization in Geneva and Paris from July 1936 until September 1937. About June 1937, he returned to the United States to organize an American branch of the organization, but did not accomplish that purpose.

American Friends of the Chinese People

On being questioned as to whether he had spoken under the auspices of this organization, Dr. Dodd stated:

"Yes. I spoke to a meeting which was organized most likely by them. But I was speaking for the China Aid Council, which at that time was a part or offshoot of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

The Harry Bridges Committee

On being asked if he entertained Harry Bridges at one time, Dr. Dodd replied:

"He was at my apartment. The Harry Bridges committee, I believe, called and asked if they could give a cocktail party and conference for Mr. Bridges, and he was there."

He further testified that some 30 people attended the party which was arranged by a Miss Gardner, secretary of the committee, and so far as he knew, Miss Gardner paid the bills for the party; that at the time of the party he knew there were deportation charges pending against Mr. Bridges (1941).

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

When questioned whether he had ever lectured under the auspices of this organization, Dr. Dodd replied:

"Yes, sir. And that again was a part of my duties as speaker and fund-raiser for Spanish aid."

American Student Union

On being asked if he had ever had any connection with this organization, Dr. Dodd replied:

"I never sponsored one. I wrote a letter while I was at William and Mary College, a letter signed by several graduate students and professors there, asking the students if they were interested in that organization they would have an opportunity to hear a member of the organization who would come to Williamsburg and speak about it."

Information before your committee indicates that this organization is an affiliate of the American Youth Congress, which is described as follows:

"It originated in 1934 and since its inception has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth. The process has been described by a high official of the Communist International, referring specifically to the Congress, as 'The radicalization of the youth.' Under such leadership and in the guise of a youth program, the force of opinion of the youth of America expressed in the proceedings and resolutions of the American Youth Congress, purporting to be representative of the American Youth organizations which composed it, has been rallied to the support of every position taken by the Communist Party upon issues relating to the foreign and domestic affairs of the United States.

Conference on Pan American Democracy

When asked if he was ever a member or connected in any way with this organization, Dr. Dodd replied:

"I am on their letterhead; yes."

Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

When questioned as to whether he was the William E. Dodd who spoke at a meeting of the above organization reported in the Daily Worker, January 19, 1938, Dr. Dodd replied:

"That was me."

Champion Magazine

Dr. Dodd testified that he wrote an article for this magazine in which he was critical of the Nazi regime.

Soviet Russia Today

In the book entitled "The World Hails the 20th Anniversary of the Soviet Union," there appears a quotation as follows:

"Twice I have made flying trips to the Soviet Union, and after each one I have left with the feeling that here is a nation which carries the future of our civilization. Here there is hope, justice, and progress. The heroic struggle which the Soviet Union has made for world peace is just beginning to be realized, and other democratic nations are recognizing that her way is the only way to preserve peace"

which Dr. Dodd identifies as from his writings in an article in the above-named magazine during the year 1938.

On being questioned concerning the refusal by the State Department to grant a passport for him to go to London for the Federal Communications Commission, Dr. Dodd testified that the passport had been refused, and further stated that—

"I think I know why."

The chairman then asked him if he desired to make an explanation, and he replied:

"Yes, sir. The diary that I edited—and of course I get credit for signing my name to it—my sister and I edited my father's diary while he was Ambassador in Berlin—was extremely critical of the State Department, certain State Department practices, and the refusal of the State Department to follow what he thought was a policy which would prevent war at that time, before his death, and he was very critical of the habits—that is, the expenditures and the diplomacy of some of the State Department officials. I know that they have never liked that criticism."

From the evidence before your committee with regards to the organizations Dr. Dodd has been associated as a member and otherwise, the persons numbered amongst his associations, his writings that have been called to our attention, all of which disclose a critical and subversive attitude toward our form of government, your committee finds that Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., should not be retained as an employee of this Government.

APPENDIX D

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN RE GOODWIN B. WATSON, WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., AND ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

[H. Rept. No. 448, 78th Cong., 1st sess.]

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS ACTING PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 105 OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, ON THE FITNESS FOR CONTINUANCE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT OF GOODWIN B. WATSON AND WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., EMPLOYEES OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, AND ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, ARTHUR E. GOLDSCHMIDT, AND JACK BRADLEY FAHY, EMPLOYEES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

MAY 14, 1943.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. KERR, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted the following

REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 105, 78th Cong.]

House Resolution 105 of the present session, adopted February 9, 1943, provides:

That the Committee on Appropriations, acting through a special subcommittee thereof appointed by the chairman of such committee for the purposes of this resolution, is authorized and directed to examine into any and all allegations or charges that certain persons in the employ of the several executive departments and other executive agencies are unfit to continue in such employment by reason of their present association or membership or past association or membership in or with organizations whose aims or purposes are or have been subversive to the Government of the United States. Such examination shall be pursued with the view of obtaining all available evidence bearing upon each particular case and reporting to the House the conclusions of the committee with respect to each such case in the light of the factual evidence obtained.

Pursuant to this authority a special subcommittee consisting of Messrs. John H. Kerr (chairman), Albert Gore, Clinton P. Anderson, D. Lane Powers, and Frank B. Keefe, have submitted to the Committee on Appropriations en banc, and the committee has approved, their findings in the cases of Dr. Goodwin B. Watson and Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., employees of the Federal Communications Commission; and Mr. Robert Morss Lovett, Mr. Arthur E. Goldschmidt, and Mr. Jack Bradley Fahy, employees of the Department of the Interior.

The reports of the special subcommittee as adopted by the committee en banc are submitted as a part of this report. The first report, dated April 21, 1943, finds that Dr. Goodwin B. Watson and

Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., are unfit to continue in Government employment.

The second report, dated May 14, 1943, finds that Mr. Robert Morss Lovett is unfit to continue in the employment of the United States Government, and in the cases of Mr. Arthur E. Goldschmidt and Mr. Jack Bradley Fahy, does not find sufficient evidence to support a recommendation of unfitness to serve in the employment of the Government.

The Committee on Appropriations, by House Resolution 105, has this further authority:

Any legislation approved by the committee as a result of this resolution may be incorporated in any general or special appropriation measure emanating from such committee or may be offered as a committee amendment to any such measure notwithstanding the provisions of clause 2 of rule XXI.

Pursuant to the foregoing authority the Committee on Appropriations has directed the offering of an amendment to the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, 1943 (H. R. 2714), to deny the use of Federal funds for the payment of salary or other compensation for the personal services of Dr. Goodwin B. Watson, Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., and Mr. Robert Morss Lovett.

The following is the text of the proposed amendment:

SEC. 304. No part of any appropriation, allocation, or fund (1) which is made available under or pursuant to this Act, or (2) which is now, or which is hereafter made, available under or pursuant to any other Act, to any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States, shall be used to pay any part of the salary, or other compensation for the personal services of Goodwin B. Watson, William E. Dodd, Junior, and Robert Morss Lovett: *Provided*, That this section shall not operate to deprive any such person of payment for leaves of absence or salary, or of any refund or reimbursement, which have accrued prior to the date of the enactment of this Act.

REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS OF THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ACT PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 105, SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS, ON THE FITNESS FOR CONTINUANCE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT OF DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON, DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, AND DR. WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., ALL OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

APRIL 21, 1943

The special subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations created pursuant to House Resolution 105, Seventy-eighth Congress—

* * * to examine into any and all allegations or charges that certain persons in the employ of the several executive departments and other executive agencies are unfit to continue in such employment by reason of their present association or membership or past association or membership in or with organizations whose aims or purposes are or have been subversive to the Government of the United States—

have procured and examined the evidence in the cases of employees of the Federal Communications Commission named by the chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, February 1, 1943, and now submit the following report in regard to these employees.

The special subcommittee understands the purpose of House Resolution 105 to be that said committee shall procure the evidence in each individual case from each department or agency of the Government having any such evidence, and from such evidence, supplemented by direct testimony from the employee, arrive at a proper determination of the matter within the provisions of the resolution.

Your committee secured the services of the Honorable Matt H. Allen, of North Carolina, as attorney, and has assembled in the cases above mentioned evidence from the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United States Civil Service Commission, the Interdepartmental Committee, and the Federal Communications Commission. It is voluminous. After an examination of the available evidence by members of said committee, each employee was invited to appear, and did appear, and explain under oath in detail his answer to the various allegations.

The employees of the Federal Communications Commission whose records have thus been examined and whose testimony has been heard are as follows:

Dr. Goodwin B. Watson, 509 West One Hundred and Twenty-first Street, New York, N. Y., chief analyst of the Foreign Broadcast

Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, salary, \$6,500 per annum.

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, 2410 Eleventh Street North, Arlington, Va., principal political analyst in the German section of the Analysis Division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, salary, \$5,600 per annum.

Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., 220 North Greenbrier, Arlington, Va., assistant news editor, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission, salary, \$3,200 per annum.

Your committee has dealt with the investigations directed under the House resolution as in the nature of an inquest of office, with the aim to make such recommendations as may be justified, toward purging the public service of anyone found guilty of subversive activity by reason of membership or association, past or present, in certain organizations, where such association or membership is thought to be incompatible with the obligations of an employee of the Government.

This Nation has attained its greatness through the ideals and philosophy of freedom written into its charter and Constitution. Safeguarding this philosophy this Nation has attained a position in the world never attained by any other nation. After more than 150 years, and with less than one-fifth of the area of the world under its flag and less than one-seventh of the population of the world, the United States of America has vouchsafed unto its citizens opportunities never before offered to any people in the world; it has done for years more than one-half the total business of the world, and is spending annually as much as all the other nations of the world in the uplift and education of its citizens. We own and control one-half the wealth of the world, and our power of production of those commodities essential to human existence is equal to that of all the balance of the world. These facts convince us of the wisdom of our forefathers in the establishment of our form of government and fills us with pride when we contemplate the indefinable spirit of these people who have lived in this Nation and those who still live here and follow the flag of freedom, those people who have always been willing and are now willing to offer their lives to protect these inalienable rights so well defined in our Declaration of Independence, those rights and duties which have made us great and strong and which we will never willingly surrender.

This committee asserts that it is not hostile to what is known these days as liberalism. We recognize that intelligent constructive criticism of our philosophy of government will always be helpful. Our political party system will take care of constructive criticism and use it to further promote governmental efficiency. We do not welcome destructive criticism which has for its purpose the overthrow of this Government and the establishment of another or other forms of government hostile to ours and incompatible with those cherished ideals which have made us great and placed us in the forefront of human attainments. We insist that those men and women who love this Government and believe in its legal and constitutional powers should have the responsibility of running it, and those who foster and associate with any organization, whatever may be its name, which has for its purpose the overthrow of this Government or the substitution of another form of government should not be intrusted with

official responsibility. This question has been decided at the bar of public opinion, and we shall abide by that decision.

The Constitution of the United States rests upon public opinion. When that ceases to support it the end will be at hand. America's future depends upon the citizens' reverence for this Constitution. The profound political philosophy which brought it into being, and the basic principles which underlie it are not familiar even to many of our college graduates. This Constitution with its fine equilibrium between efficient power and individual liberty remains the best hope of the world, and any Government employee who fosters or sponsors or supports any organization which would undermine this foundation for a free government ought not to be employed by any department of Government in any position of trust.

"Subversive activity" has not been defined by the courts or by Congress, and your committee must necessarily undertake a definition. For the purposes of these examinations the following is adopted, namely:

Subversive activity in this country derives from conduct intentionally destructive of or inimical to the Government of the United States—that which seeks to undermine its institutions, or to distort its functions, or to impede its projects, or to lessen its efforts, the ultimate end being to overturn it all. Such activity may be open and direct as by effort to overthrow, or subtle and indirect as by sabotage.

DR. GOODWIN B. WATSON

Dr. Watson admitted association or affiliation with 12 or more organizations as follows, namely:

1. American League for Peace and Democracy.
2. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.
3. American Student Union.
4. American Youth Congress.
5. Conference on Pan-American Democracy.
6. Consumers Union.
7. Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo.
8. Descendants of American Revolution.
9. International Workers Order.
10. League of American Writers.
11. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.
12. Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

A number of these organizations have been designated by the Department of Justice as "front organizations" and others as "questionable." These organizations have not been adjudged by the courts or by Congress as subversive.

In the organization of our armed forces we know that no officer is permitted to lead our boys upon the battle fronts who advocates a philosophy of destruction and overthrow of our institutions and Government. If our military leaders on the far-flung battle fronts have deemed it wise and necessary to safeguard and protect our boys against false and distorted doctrines and philosophies, it would seem equally necessary and important that we on the home front should give a similar protection and safeguard to our soldiers and citizens at home, against entrusting official responsibility to those whose acts, philosophies, and teachings would destroy us from within.

Your committee finds from the evidence that Dr. Watson for several years past has associated himself on many and frequent occasions with men and associations whose aims and purposes were subversive to this Government, and has associated himself with men who advocated the overthrow of this Government. We further find from the evidence that Dr. Watson has written various articles for several magazines reputedly controlled by subversive interests, and in a number of these articles Dr. Watson made unfavorable comparisons between other governments and our Government, and in other articles, he criticized our capitalistic and profit system and advocated its overthrow.

Upon consideration of all of the evidence, your committee finds that the membership and association of Dr. Goodwin B. Watson with the organizations mentioned, and his views and philosophies as expressed in various statements and writings constitute subversive activity within the definition adopted by your committee, and that he is, therefore, unfit for the present to continue in Government employment.

DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Your special subcommittee has examined Dr. Frederick L. Schuman and all evidence pertaining to him as submitted by the committees heretofore referred to, and does not find sufficient evidence to support a recommendation of unfitness to serve in the employment of the Government at this time.

DR. WILLIAM E. DODD, JR.

Your committee finds that the evidence in the case of Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., shows, by his own testimony, that he was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy and that he resigned from that organization not because of its character but to "return to Virginia, to my farm, and to run for Congress." This organization was listed by the Department of Justice as a "front organization" and has been so found by the Committee on Un-American Activities and the Interdepartmental Committee.

Further, Dr. Dodd openly, and in the opinion of the committee, definitely, admitted his long-standing and continued membership in the Washington Bookshop which he retains to this day. This organization has likewise been listed as a "front organization" by the Department of Justice. Dr. Dodd testified before the committee that he knew the organization had been found to be subversive, but that he did not feel any obligation to resign his membership in it.

As to his association with Communists, Dr. Dodd testified to the committee that he entertained Harry Bridges at a cocktail party in Dr. Dodd's apartment attended by 30 people. He stated to the committee that he knew deportation charges were then pending against Mr. Bridges based upon membership in the Communist Party, but claimed that he did not know who the people were who attended the party or who finally paid the bills, but thought that a Miss Gardner, secretary of the Harry Bridges committee, did pay the bills.

The committee found a long list of organizations under whose auspices he had lectured or with whom he had been associated. However, his own direct testimony of belonging to "front organizations," together with other facts testified to by him, and particularly his admitted statement quoted in the World Hails The 20th Anniversary of The Soviet Union convinces the committee that his philosophy of government is directly opposed to our ideals and system of government.

Upon consideration of all the evidence your committee finds the membership and association of Dr. William E. Dodd, Jr., with the organizations mentioned, and his expressed views and philosophies of government constitute subversive activity within the definition adopted by the committee, and that he is, therefore, unfit for the present to continue in Government employment.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. KERR, North Carolina, *Chairman.*

ALBERT GORE, Tennessee.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON, New Mexico.

D. LANE POWERS, New Jersey.

FRANK B. KEEFE, Wisconsin.

REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS OF THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ACT PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 105, SEVENTH-EIGHTH CONGRESS, ON THE FITNESS FOR CONTINUANCE IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT OF DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, ARTHUR E. GOLDSCHMIDT, AND JACK BRADLEY FAHY, ALL EMPLOYEES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

MAY 14, 1943

The special subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations created pursuant to House Resolution 105, Seventy-eighth Congress—

* * * to examine into any and all allegations or charges that certain persons in the employ of the several executive departments and other executive agencies are unfit to continue in such employment by reason of their present association or membership or past association or membership in or with organizations whose aims or purposes are or have been subversive to the Government of the United States—

submits the following report supplemental to its report of April 21, 1943, after having procured and examined the evidence in the cases of employees of the Department of the Interior named by the chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities in a speech on the floor of the House, February 1, 1943.

The employees of the Department of the Interior whose records have thus been examined and whose testimony has been heard are as follows:

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas, V. I., salary, \$5,800.

Arthur Edward Goldschmidt, 3036 P Street, Washington, D. C.—315 Adams Street, San Antonio, Tex., Acting Director of Division of Power, Department of the Interior, salary, \$8,000.

Jack Bradley Fahy, 1042 Thirty-first Street NW., Washington, D. C., Acting Chief of the Puerto Rico-Virgin Islands Branch of Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of the Interior, salary \$5,600.

DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett was born in Boston, Mass., December 25, 1870.

He was graduated from Harvard University with A. B. degree in 1892.

Prior to his appointment as Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands on July 25, 1939, he had been employed as a professor of English by the University of Chicago for a period of 46 years. The position he now holds is under the Department of the Interior at a salary of \$5,800 per annum.

Dr. Lovett appeared before your committee and testified under oath. He admitted either membership or association or affiliation with many organizations including six organizations found to be within the scope of the mandate of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, as follows:

1. American Peace Mobilization, later known as American People's Mobilization.
2. American Youth Congress.
3. League of American Writers.
4. National Committee for People's Rights.
5. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
6. International Labor Defense.

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOBILIZATION

The genealogy of the American People's Mobilization is as follows: It was first the American League Against War and Fascism; this organization was succeeded by the American League for Peace and Democracy, which gave way to the American Peace Mobilization; and since the invasion of Russia the name was changed to American People's Mobilization.

The organization was declared by the Department of Justice to be within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644, Seventy-seventh Congress. Its program parallels the election platform of the Communist Party—1940—in 21 respects, shown by a chart prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The first chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism stated that—

The American league has been, in effect, a part of an international Communists' conspiracy to involve the United States in a contemplated war on the side of the Soviet Union, or failing that objective, to cripple the United States through mutiny in the Army and the sabotage of basic industries, and to inculcate class war and revolution here.

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

This organization was declared by the Department of Justice to be within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644, Seventy-seventh Congress. Its program parallels the program of the Communist Party, United States of America, in 21 respects.

Earl Browder stated:

The Young Communists League, with the assistance of the party has from the beginning played an important part in presenting the American Youth Congress and formulating its program and activities;

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

This organization was declared by the Department of Justice to be within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644, Seventy-seventh Congress.

Information before your committee discloses that—

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communists and non-Communists. In 1939 the League began openly to follow the Communist Party line as indicated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and National Committee for People's Rights was declared by the Department of Justice to be within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644, Seventy-seventh Congress.

It is listed among organizations alleged to have been financed by the Amtorg Trading Corporation.

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

This organization was declared by the Department of Justice to be within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644, Seventy-seventh Congress.

Its program parallels the election platform of the Communist Party—1940—in 16 respects. It was formed in Washington, D. C., in June 1940. Among its aims and purposes as manifested by literature distributed at the time appears to be "oppose all proposals for peacetime conscription; abolition of the Dies committee; and confine the F. B. I. to its statutory purposes and put an end to its Gestapo activities."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

In the Harry Bridges deportation proceedings, the Attorney General states after defining "front organizations" that "other Communist front organizations were the International Labor Defense, whose immediate purpose was to defend Communists, but among whose members were many non-Communists unaware of its Communist control * * *."

Dr. Lovett was also a member or affiliated with the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; National Committee, American Birth Control League; National Committee, All-American Anti-Imperialist League, which helped finance the Nicaraguan revolutionists against American marines in 1930; National Council of the Committee on Militarism in Education, which opposes military training; International Committee for the Defense of Political (red) Prisoners; president, League for Industrial Democracy; one of the editors of New Republic; National Committee, American League for India's Freedom; signer of Fellowship of Reconciliation petition for recognition of Russia; advisory board of Russian Reconstruction Farms; arrangements committee for United States Congress Against War; American Committee for Struggle Against War; National Committee of League Against Fascism; National Committee, International Labor Defense; endorser, national convention of Friends of Soviet Union; advisory committee, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; executive committee, Farmer Labor Political Federation League for Mutual Aid; advisory editor, Champion of Youth; general committee, Friends of Spanish Democracy; sponsor of mass celebration in honor of the Communist, "Mother" Bloor; advisory committee, American Youth Congress; endorser, Conference of China Aid Council, 1928; defended Soviet purges and killings of objectors in Russia, 1938.

Dr. Lovett admitted the following remarks made in an address made in Chicago, Ill., on August 20, 1936, as follows:

I shall vote for Norman Thomas for President, because he is the only man who will take the control of this country away from the capitalists and place that

control in the hands of the people. The Socialist Party is a party of poor and working classes. The Communist Party is also a party of the laboring or working classes and their candidate, Earl Browder, stands for the same things as does Norman Thomas but I believe the Socialist Party has the best approach to the problem that confronts us today * * *. The worker today must either be a Communist or a Socialist for neither of the older parties offer any hope. President Roosevelt has been in power for 4 years and has done nothing. It is still the same old system under which the workers are taxed to help the capitalists get more money and more power. Vote for Norman Thomas and through him you will be voting for yourselves.

He sponsored and wrote various articles published by Communist front organizations over a period dating back to 1922.

On page 1307 of the Journal of the Senate of the State of Illinois for 1935 Dr. Robert Morss Lovett appears as a member of the following organizations:

Executive Board A. C. L. U. Chgo. Com.; nat. com. A. C. L. U.; dir. and one of four incorporators of Garland Fund; leader of communist N. S. Lg. of U. of C. 1932; Russ. Reconst. Farms, 1926; endorser Communist Janowicz, cand. for Ald. 5th Ward, Chgo. 1933; L. I. P. A.; Nat. com. C. M. E.; nat. pres. L. I. D.; nat. com. A. A. A. I. Lg.; N. C. to A. S. M. F. S.; Am. com. W. C. A. W. and nat. com. Student Cong. Ag. War (U. of Chgo.); chmn. exec. com. Sacco-V. Nat. Lg.; assoo. ed. "New Republic"; Advis. com. Ky. Miners Def. and Rel. Com. of Chgo. (I. W. W.); Nat. Mooney-Billings Com.; was pres. of communists' Fed. Press Lg., when organized in 1922; Fair Play to China; Debs Memorial Radio Fund Com.; India Freedom Found. Am. Com. on Inf. about Russia; chmn. Chgo. Emer. Com. Strik. Rel.; Nat. Mooney Coun. of Action, 1933; arrested with picketers at strike of communist Needle Trades Wkrs. Ind. Un., June 29, 1933; Humanist; exec. com. Nat. Coun. Prot. For. Born Wkrs. 1927-1930; endors, "Professional Patriots"; Cong. Exp. Radicals; sponsor communist Chgo. Wkrs. Theatre, 1933; com. U. S. Cong. Ag. War; Griffin Bill sponsor; nat. com. Lg. Against Fascism, 1933; Nat. Save Our Schs. Com.; People's Legis. Serv.; nat. coun. Berger Nat. Found.; Chmn. Chgo. Forum Coun.; bd. Lg. for Org. Progress 1931; Emer. Com. Strik. Rel. 1933; see Hands Off Committee; nat. com. F. S. U. 1934; Conf. Prog. Pol. Act. Camp, com. 1934.

There was also evidence from the Illinois Senate Journal of 1935 of a letter written by Dr. Lovett on December 17, 1926, to Morris Gordin as follows:

DEAR GORDIN: I have your book *Utopia in Chains* and am sending it to Dr. Jerome Davis—the best reviewer I can think of for books and the early days of the Russian revolution. I hope it will be very successful. I assure you there was no "reversal of attitude" on my part. I was anxious to have the book published as a human story, not caring in the least whether it reflects on the Russian governments, or the United States Government, or any other—all, in my opinion, being rotten. Houghton Mifflin will undoubtedly handle the book as a counter-revolutionary document, and obviously I cannot associate myself with such a campaign.

Most sincerely,

ROBERT M. LOVETT.

Dr. Lovett was the vice president of the American League for Peace and Democracy of which organization Dr. Harry F. Ward was president. Dr. Lovett testified that he resigned as vice president of this organization after he was appointed Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands and because he did not want to retain membership in the organization unless he could be present and help direct its policies. The American League for Peace and Democracy was originally called the United States Congress Against War and Fascism. Until a short time ago it was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. It is a section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism, now the World Committee for Peace and Democracy. The American branch was 1 of 33 nationals

organized in 33 countries which compose the international organization.

Your committee has received from the head of the Department of the Interior a strong appeal for the retention of Dr. Lovett, and the committee has given respectful and careful consideration to this letter of commendation. Your committee, however, cannot escape the conviction that this official is unfit to hold a position of trust with this Government by reason of his membership, association, and affiliation with organizations whose aims and purposes are subversive to the Government of the United States.

If this official is continued in office he will be in position to propagate his subversive philosophies through control of Government money spent in the Virgin Islands and otherwise influence the native mind through his Government position. If the philosophies and ideas of Government indicated and expressed by Dr. Lovett in the mass of pamphlets and letters in evidence should ever prevail, they would nullify everything our soldiers are fighting for today, and if the principles of our national structure are subverted and entombed their resurrection will cost a far greater sacrifice than we are paying today.

The report of the investigating committee of the Senate of the State of Illinois, authorized by Senate Resolution No. 33, June 26, 1935, made a finding upon Dr. Lovett as follows:

Fair consideration of all evidence received by the committee compels the conclusion that Prof. Robert Morss Lovett has pursued an unpatriotic course of conduct for a period of 8 or 10 years. From the testimony and exhibits considered by the committee, he is not loyal to the spirit or letter of the Constitution of Illinois or the United States.

Upon consideration of all of the evidence, your committee finds that Dr. Robert Morss Lovett is unfit to continue in the employment of the United States Government by reason of his association and membership in and with organizations whose aims or purposes have been subversive to the Government of the United States.

ARTHUR EDWARD GOLDSCHMIDT

This employee was born in San Antonio, Tex., February 17, 1910, and was graduated from Breckenridge High School, San Antonio, Tex., and then entered Columbia University, New York City, from which institution he was graduated in 1932. He worked his way through high school and college. Majored in economics and government. Employed while in college doing library work, tutoring, statistical and research work, and was research assistant to Dr. Joseph McGoldrick of Columbia University. From 1932 to 1933 he was employed as assistant to the president of Emergency Exchange Association, New York City, at a salary of \$1,500. He entered employ of the United States Government in 1933 in Federal Emergency Relief Administration at a salary of \$1,800 and was soon promoted to Associate Director of Professional and Service Projects Administration at a salary of \$3,600. From September 1935 to July 1937 he was employed by United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce as executive officer engaged in administration and research work, at a salary of \$3,600. From July 1937 to January 1938 he was employed by Congress of Industrial Organizations as vice

president, legislative, administrative, research, and organizational work, at a salary of \$3,000. From January 1938 to May 1940 he was employed by Power Division, Public Works Administration, as assistant to Director, at a salary of \$4,000. From May 1940 to August 1941 he was employed by National Policy Commission as special assistant to Chairman, at a salary of \$5,200. From August 1, 1941, to November 1942 he was employed as assistant to the Director Division of Power, Department of the Interior, at a salary of \$8,500 per year. In November 1942 he was promoted to Acting Director Division of Power, Department of the Interior, at a salary of \$8,000 per year.

This employee is married and has two small children.

It appears from the evidence that this employee was a member of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy to the extent that he contributed on one occasion to its milk fund; that his name was on the list of membership of Washington Book Shop, but that he had no knowledge of this listing until the Dies report was published and upon inquiry at home found that his wife had joined the organization in his name for the purpose of buying Victrola records at a discount, and that he had no further connection with this organization; that he made a Christmas contribution on one occasion to the National Labor Defense; that on one occasion in 1937 he received an invitation in his official capacity to appear in a panel discussion in Philadelphia to discuss the Negro in Federal service and that he did appear as a panel speaker.

There is no evidence tending to show any subversive activity on the part of this employee at any time during his entire life, but on the contrary evidence shows that this employee is a patriotic, loyal, hard-working American and that he is now and has been rendering to the United States Government a high degree of service, and that he is a young man of the highest integrity and standing among his fellows and friends.

JACK BRADLEY FAHY

This employee was born in Washington, D. C. on November 5, 1908 (34 years of age), and spent his youth in New York City where his father is senior partner of the stock exchange firm of Walter J. Fahy & Co. Immediately after graduation from high school he served as secretary to Senator George H. Moses, who was then, in 1928, eastern campaign manager for Herbert Hoover. After the election Mr. Fahy worked for a year or two in his father's firm. He worked for his father's firm through the 1929 crash. After the 1929 crash and when he was 21 years of age he joined the Socialist Party, but after attending a few meetings he abandoned the Socialist Party without ever having voted the Socialist ticket.

Mr. Fahy attended Catholic schools in New York and New Jersey and later New York University. He then attended Montana State College and took a special course in animal husbandry. He also attended lectures in the University of San Marcos in South America in 1933. He established a food business in Peru in 1933 and is still interested in this South American business.

In April 1937 he volunteered and joined the Loyalist Army in Spain. His decision to go to Spain was not inspired by anyone other than himself. His travel to Spain was provided by the Eugene V.

Debs Column, an organization financed by the Socialist Party. He fought in Spain until September 1938, a period of about 18 months, serving as a truck driver and later as head of a truck detachment. He left Spain after having received head and eye wounds, and returned to the United States in September 1938. Upon his return to the United States he called upon Norman Thomas about bringing back his comrades who had been sent over by the Socialist Party, and was told that the books were closed on that incident and that they would have to get back as best they could; thereupon, he wrote a letter of resignation from the Socialist Party, which he now describes as silly and foolish, and caused the letter to be published. He testified that he sent copies of this letter to every newspaper published in New York City and that he does not know how many of them published the letter. The letter was intended to be an attack upon the Socialist Party.

Mr. Fahy is married, a Catholic, and interested in the religious affairs of his church.

Mr. Fahy was borrowed by the Department of the Interior from the Board of Economic Warfare and assigned as Acting Chief of the Puerto Rico-Virgin Islands branch of Division of Territories and Island Possessions. It appears that after this outburst against the Socialist Party, Mr. Fahy returned to his affairs, has joined no organizations, written no articles and made no speeches, and he is now engaged in setting up an organization of supply and distribution for the Department to provide and distribute food among the 2,000,000 people of Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands through the normal channels of trade. The department chief has spoken of his work as "a really remarkable job for which this Government and the people of Puerto Rico have cause to be grateful."

The committee has received testimonials as to the ability and character of Mr. Fahy from an exceptional variety of persons, and your committee is of the opinion that Mr. Fahy has not been guilty of any subversive activity, but that on the contrary he has and is rendering to the Government a loyal service in the handling of the vexatious economic and supply problems of the Territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

JOHN H. KERR, *Chairman.*

ALBERT GORE.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON.

D. LANE POWERS.

FRANK B. KEEFE.

APPENDIX E

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN CHARGE OF INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS, BY ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, AN EMPLOYEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Subcommittee: Messrs. Jed Johnson (Chairman, James M. Fitzpatrick, Michael J. Kirwan, W. F. Norrell, Albert E. Carter, Robert F. Jones, and Ben F. Jensen.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1943.

The committee met at 11 a. m., Hon. Jed Johnson, of Oklahoma, presiding.

Present: Hon. James M. Fitzpatrick, Hon. Michael J. Kirwan, Hon. W. F. Norrell, Hon. Alfred E. Carter, Hon. Robert F. Jones, and Hon. Ben Jensen.

Also present: Robert Morss Lovett, Warner W. Gardner, A. Fortas, and William Brophy.

MR. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The committee will come to order. Our first witness is Robert Morss Lovett. Mr. Lovett, will you take the stand, please?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, GOVERNMENT SECRETARY, VIRGIN ISLANDS

MR. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Will you state for the committee your position?

MR. LOVETT. Well, I believe that the committee is rather appalled at the number of letterheads which have appeared with my name. I should like to explain, in the first place, that I was president of the League for Industrial Democracy from 1920 on until quite recently. That was originally a Socialist organization and many of the people in the organization under the new name of Industrial Democracy, were Socialists.

Our interest was in cultivating economic studies among young people in wages and industries, and we had a number of chapters in different institutions. The tendency toward workers known as a United Front carried our young people and the Communist organizations together in the Student Union, and I believe in the American Youth Congress.

Now, naturally, when the Student Union was formed, I became an adviser, or on the advisory board of that organization, and I believe that I approved of the organization of the American Youth Congress, which had practically the same object. My name, perhaps, would appear in a number of organizations which are really duplicates. I have always been interested in peace, and when the question of peace

through international effort became very prominent in the time of the Kellogg Pact in 1929, I was a member of a number of organizations devoted to the cause of peace.

I was a great believer in the neutrality legislation at that time and, indeed, made a number of speeches throughout the country under the auspices of Mr. Sherwood Eddy in support of that movement. I believed that by collective action of all economic lines, we could smother the war. Collective activity, however, was necessary, and when it appeared that the Neutrality Act was passed by this country could not be enforced, I lost faith in that method of preserving peace.

The American League Against War and Fascism has been very strangely misrepresented. It was an organization which included Communists and others, but the Communists were never in control. It was an organization of organizations, and the organizations contributed to the American League, and the Communist Party made a contribution as a contributory organization.

The American League was in favor of collective security. It was very much interested in the President's declaration, the quarantine against aggressors, that became almost a part of its platform. It was interested in the labor policy of the present administration.

I might say that the two things that I did for the league were, first, to conduct a panel in Pittsburgh upon the violence used in connection with the suppression of the so-called Little Steel strike, which you may remember culminated in an atrocious massacre by the Chicago police of peaceful paraders on Memorial Day, 1937.

My other activity was an investigation of Nazi movements in Chicago in the summer of 1938, and those two reports of mine were published in the official magazine of the league.

I believe that since 1939 I have had no connection, no new connection with any organization. I have maintained my connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, with the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the America League Against Capital Punishment. I think the only new organization that I attempted to join was the American Mobilization for Peace. I thought that I had considerable influence among pacifists, and when the mobilization was organized, I wrote that I would join it on condition that the American League Against War and Fascism should be represented as standing for collective security, and particularly at that moment for all-out aid to the nations which were fighting for peace and the collective security, that is, all-out aid to England, at the time.

The president of the league wrote me courteously and said that was not the view of the majority, but they would hear me if I cared to appear. I was unable to appear, being then engaged in the Virgin Islands. And my name simply disappeared from that organization; and, its successors, I think, disappeared. My dissent from the policy was marked, and letters to that effect have been turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I believe that is the story in general outline.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Lovett, I had hoped that you would give us a little bit of your background before going into this matter of the organizations that you have admitted you were a member of. Will you tell us where you were born?

Mr. LOVETT. I was born in Boston in 1870 and graduated from Harvard University in 1892; and joined the faculty of the University

of Chicago in 1893, and remained a member of the faculty 2 years past my automatic retirement age of 65.

I may say, I think, that the clamor that was raised by certain interested persons on account of my activities which I have tried to outline, was the reason why the trustees refused to yield to that pressure and asked me twice to remain on the faculty. There was a committee appointed by the Senate of Illinois on subversive interests, and I think Communist teaching, in the universities and colleges, and I did not feel myself involved in any way, because you see my department was in English literature, and I have certainly never used my classroom as a means of indoctrinating students with any social doctrine whatsoever; social or religious. I might almost say that I have never used my college platform for anything except the subject that I was appointed to teach.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What different subjects have you taught?

Mr. LOVETT. English literature.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Just English literature?

Mr. LOVETT. And the committee appointed by the Senate was appointed as the result of the efforts by a citizen of Chicago, a Mr. Walgreen, to bring, I think, my name before the public.

I may say that I did not regard myself in any way as concerned with the proceedings of the committee. I was told, that at the first session and in the early part of the second session my name was constantly brought in, I should say irrelevantly, and at the request of the president of the University of Chicago I attended the afternoon session of the second day and was asked questions with reference to my attitude toward peace; nothing to do with the subject for which the committee was appointed, and I was extremely surprised when the committee brought in a report recommending to the trustees of the University of Chicago that I should be dismissed.

As I have said, they not only declined to consider that recommendation, but I am inclined to believe that it was on account of a general sense of injustice that was done me personally, as the result of a private malice, that I was given 2 years extension of my term as teacher.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, this committee that investigated you and others, you say they had a private malice against you?

Mr. LOVETT. I say that someone had; not the whole committee, but the committee was appointed to investigate communistic teaching in the colleges and universities of the State; the only college or university that was called before the committee was the University of Chicago.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That was a committee of the State Legislature of Illinois?

Mr. LOVETT. The State Senate; committee of the State Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And they unanimously requested your dismissal from the University of Chicago; is that it?

Mr. LOVETT. The committee requested that; yes, sir.

Mr. CARTER. What year was that?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. 1935 or 1936, wasn't it?

Mr. LOVETT. I think it was in 1936. It was known as the Walgreen investigation. And, I may say that Mr. Walgreen so far repented as to present the university with a half million dollars for their endowment of social teaching.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Was that while you were a professor, or was that after you had resigned?

Mr. LOVETT. That was while I was a professor; yes, sir.

Mr. CARTER. That would not show any repentance, though, so far as you were concerned, Governor, would it?

Mr. LOVETT. I think Mr. Walgreen knew he was used in the whole matter.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, you have mentioned a number of organizations that you were a member of.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But you haven't mentioned them all; all of these subversive organizations.

Mr. LOVETT. I dare say any—I deny any of them were subversive.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You deny any of them were subversive?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Is it not true that the Secretary of the Interior called your hand, wrote you a letter and said that he was embarrassed by the fact that your signature was on a call for a conference of the League of American Writers, and didn't he call that a subversive organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I think not. He wrote me——

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Didn't he call it a communistic organization?

Mr. LOVETT. He said that he noticed that the organization followed the Communist line, but I pointed out to him that the organization is an organization of writers, and their interest in politics is purely incidental to him that in that case, just as in the case of the American Peace Mobilization, I specifically signed the call with the statement that I wished to enter certain questions that they asked as to what the United States should do in the war which was then going on between Germany and England.

My intention was to answer it, and I did answer it by letter, stating that my conviction was that unless we gave England full aid, unless we made it possible for England to survive, that the position of the United States in the world would be gravely endangered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you take that position before Germany went into Russia, or afterward?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; both. At the time that these matters occurred, the pact between Hitler and Stalin was in effect, and I felt that it was more than that that was necessary; that we should go to the very limit in supporting England.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, your position then is that each one of these organizations that you have affiliated yourself with is a patriotic organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And that none of them are, in fact, subversive?

Mr. LOVETT. I take that position strongly. I should not join any organization that was subversive, and if I had known that any organization was marked by the Attorney General or other competent authorities, I should not have joined it, even if my opinion had differed from his.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You do know, however, that the Attorney General has found several of these organizations were subversive?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not until this morning. I was told this morning that that was the case.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, Mr. Lovett, I have before me some files showing more than 40 organizations; with reference to more than 40 organizations you were affiliated with.

Mr. LOVETT. I am embarrassed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That you are alleged to be a member in good standing or have been a member of 40 different organizations in this country.

Mr. LOVETT. I am embarrassed, Mr. Chairman, at the number, causing the committee so much time and effort to disentangle what, after all, is a very simple matter.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, you have been associated with the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir. I am still a member.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You are still a member of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did it cost you anything? Is that free, or did you pay anything to become a member of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I subscribed a small amount; I think \$10 a year.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. \$10 a year?

Mr. LOVETT. I think so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. All right. And, you say that is a patriotic organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Absolutely.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Not tainted with communism?

Mr. LOVETT. Absolutely not.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Do you know Bernard J. Stern of the Department of Social Sciences, Columbia University?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you know that you sent a telegram of congratulations to him at a meeting dominated by Communists?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't remember it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And congratulating the organization on the good work that they were doing. "Telegrams and letters of greeting were received from Robert Morris Lovett."

Mr. LOVETT. What is the organization or what was the meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, let me see. Five delegates attended the conference to protect the rights of foreign-born.

Mr. LOVETT. That is right. That is the same organization I referred to before.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The article said that the telegram was sent to Bernard J. Stern, social science worker.

Let me see. There is also a call for the National Action Conference. Were you a member of that the National Confederation for Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You are a member of that?

Mr. LOVETT. I remember that name.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. An old black-out for Civil Rights. Did you know at that time that that was a sponsor of a Communist front?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Do you still say it is not, and never has been?

Mr. LOVETT. To the best of my belief it was a united-front organization which included Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But the interdepartmental committee did find that the National Confederation for Constitutional Liberties was a subversive organization, did it not?

Mr. LOVETT. I didn't know that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you are listed as one of the sponsors.

Mr. LOVETT. I sponsored it some 3 years ago and have never withdrawn my sponsorship.

Mr. CARTER. Are you a member now?

Mr. LOVETT. I have never withdrawn my sponsorship.

Mr. CARTER. How much per year, if any, do you pay in that?

Mr. LOVETT. I have given once or twice the sum of \$5 for their press release. The press release comes in the form of a call for action, and I have taken no action under those calls but the information is useful.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, for your information and for the information of the committee, the Attorney General has found: The program of the federation parallels closely the Communist Party line of 1940. This adherence to the party line is illustrated by the opposition contained in much of its literature to compulsory military training, which would introduce dangerous major steps in the direction of Fascist control over the entire life of the community and especially over labor movements. Most of the national sponsors and most of the national executive committee and most of the local heads of the federation are leaders in Communist organizations predominantly identified with Communist activities.

Now, the Attorney General found that out, that you have been closely associated with it, and you didn't know that; is that correct?

Mr. LOVETT. That is correct. I have been in the Virgin Island since 1939.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, let me see. It says: It has been very active in the defense of such Communist leaders as Sam Darcey—do you know Sam Darcey—and Robert Wood, notorious Communists from Oklahoma; do you know him?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know him. I know the case.

Mr. JOHNSON. Did you contribute anything financially to the case that you referred to?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Do you remember how much?

Mr. LOVETT. I cannot recall the amount, but I believe that the arrest of Wood and others for handling Communist literature was a violation of civil liberties, and I contributed to their defense.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That reminds me of something. Did you make a rather sizable contribution of, say, some \$1,200 since you have been in the Virgin Islands? Did you send a check to some women in New York?

Mr. LOVETT. To no organization.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. No organization, but to an individual?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You are sure of that.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. To whom was that sent, and for what purpose?

Mr. LOVETT. That is a purely personal matter and it has no special significance whatever.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. No significance?

Mr. LOVETT. With any movement.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You are sure about that?

Mr. LOVETT. Absolutely; yes. It was pure charity in the matter of a program of operation, of hospitalization, for a former student of mine.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I am glad to have that cleared up, because it has been reported to this committee that it was all your money. You didn't collect money from other people in the Virgin Islands for that purpose?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. All right.

Mr. CARTER. What was the answer to that question—"No"?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The answer was that you did not collect from other people?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. This next is about the recommendation of the Illinois Senate. I am not going into that because you discussed it and admitted that the committee recommended your dismissal, so we will not go into that again.

Mr. LOVETT. May I say in reference to that, Mr. Chairman, that the prominent charge that the committee made was that I had written in a private letter that I did not object to criticism of the Soviet Union or the United States Government?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That you didn't what?

Mr. LOVETT. Did not object to criticism of corruption in either the Soviet Union or the United States Government.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You just put them all in about the same plane, did you?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir. I said, if I may go into the background, this was the case of a young man who had been in Russia, hadn't liked it, come back, and written a book called Eutopia in Chains, in which he criticized graft in the Russian bureaucracy. I corrected his book. I found a publisher. He did not think that the book received the attention that it deserved. It did not become a best seller, and he seems to have thought that I might have done better for the book.

I wrote him very roughly that I had no objection to his criticism of the Soviet Union or of the United States Government; that there was corruption, I thought, in all the governments, and the committee made much of that. They brought the letter into the discussion, and I should think it had no bearing upon Communist teaching in my class and, if anything, it showed that I was perfectly willing to help a man publish a book that criticized the Government of the Soviet Union.

Mr. CARTER. Governor, did your criticism go to corruption in the respective countries, or the citizens of government in the respective countries?

Mr. LOVETT. The political graft, what we know as petty corruption, and I said I didn't care whether he criticized any government for what he found, based upon facts.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well you, of course, are not trying to make this committee believe that this Senate committee in Illinois asked for your dismissal because of any assistance you gave a young man in publishing his book, or statement you made about his book or about the Communist government or the American Government.

Mr. LOVETT. In this episode, they showed me the letter. I did not make any statement because it seemed to me entirely irrelevant. I knew that the young man to whom I had written the letter had sold it, and I merely identified it as mine and said nothing.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, since you seem to want to talk about it, I will read a part of the findings of that Senate committee. Referring to you, the report said in part: "He has frankly participated in Communist meetings in Illinois and other States."

Mr. LOVETT. Not at all.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, is that statement true or false?

Mr. LOVETT. No; it is true.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Again it says:

The Oxford pledge was given to students at meetings he attended.

Is that statement true or false?

Mr. LOVETT. That statement is true.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That is true?

Mr. LOVETT. That is true. As I explained to the committee, I considered the Oxford oath, although I did not approve of it—I nevertheless considered it as an individual affirmation of the Kellogg Pact. The Kellogg Pact was a solemn oath taken by our Government in connection with other governments to use war as an instrument of national policy, and it seemed to be quite natural that young people should make the same affirmation individually, although I discouraged it, because I knew that they could not keep it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The Oxford oath then is an oath pledging that you will not take up arms?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Under any circumstances?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; and, it was, of course, the kind of oath that would be taken by young people in their earnest feeling for peace, but it was a pledge which could by no possibility be kept.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I will say this, that I know more than one high type, high-minded young man now in conscientious objectors' camps because of the damnable teaching of university professors that they should take the Oxford oath or some other oath never to take up arms against the Government.

Mr. LOVETT. I never advocated it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You never advocated it?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JENSEN. May I ask this question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Certainly.

Mr. JENSEN. Then, in reality and, in fact, you were not sincere in that oath, but nevertheless the boys thought you were sincere.

Mr. LOVETT. I never took the oath.

Mr. JENSEN. But you advocated it?

Mr. LOVETT. I didn't advocate it. I was attending meetings, mass meetings held by students and meetings for which I was not responsible as far as the program was concerned.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Isn't it a fact, though, many of your students who believed in war, after Germany went to war with Russia, were willing to shoulder arms and fight for this country or the Allies?

Mr. LOVETT. They were willing as soon as the United States was in the war.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. No, no. Now, let us get it right. As soon as Germany attacked Russia, they were willing to shoulder arms; is that not true?

Mr. LOVETT. That is true.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is true.

Mr. KIRWAN. Let me ask you a question there. Did you not read Congressman Engle's one-man investigation of waste or graft in government?

Mr. LOVETT. I remember it, but I can't say that I have read it recently. I remember it very well now by title.

Mr. KIRWAN. When you go back to the Virgin Islands take a couple of Congressional Records back with you and read what Congressman Engle had to say about waste in Government, or call it graft, if you wish, after 3 months of investigation by a Member of this Congress, as to what he found. I would advise you to take the Congressional Record back with you.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Of course, you can read anything you want to. For instance, a Member of the United States Senate—and I am ashamed to say from my own State—yesterday made the statement that this Government of ours was just as rotten as Hitler's.

Mr. KIRWAN. I am not referring to that, Mr. Chairman. I am referring to the men with earnings in the upper brackets. I am not referring to this, except I am referring to the gentleman that did this, that Congressman Engle put that in the record about.

Mr. CARTER. I don't think anybody had any objection to anybody criticizing that in the Government, or any other kind of graft.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Oh, no.

Mr. CARTER. Whether in this Government or in any other government.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. We are just talking about the form of government; following principles.

Mr. KIRWAN. But I wanted him to take back that record.

Mr. LOVETT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CARTER. I cannot believe, Governor, but what that investigating committee must have had something more substantial against you than the fact that you fostered somebody that criticized the graft in the Government.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Let me read a little further along in this report of this committee, which I understand was unanimous in asking for your dismissal.

It says:

Robert Morss Lovett has pursued an unpatriotic course of conduct for the period of 8 or 10 years. From the testimony and exhibits considered by the committee he is not loyal to the spirit or the letter of the Constitution of the State of Illinois.

That is a very serious charge. However, Professor Lovett lost a son in the World War.

Mr. LOVETT. The committee was appointed to investigate communistic colleges and universities, and since I was not by any possibility concerned in the subject of the committee's investigation, I made very few statements before the committee. I did not, for example, explain in the least the circumstances under which I wrote to a young man that as far as I was concerned, he could criticize corruption in government where he found it.

If I had been writing carefully to the committee, for example, I should have quoted Lord Acton, who says that all power leads to corruption and absolute power leads to absolute corruption. That is a well-known maxim which he laid down for government and I should subscribe to it, and I should have written that way if I hadn't been writing privately to a young man who felt he had a grievance, which I wished to turn aside as quickly as possible.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Getting along with these forty-odd organizations, none of which you say are subversive, did you not frequently receive letters from these members of these communistic fronts, addressing you as "Dear Comrade?"

Mr. LOVETT. Possibly. I gave the Federal Bureau of Investigation a list of all of the organizations from which I had received communications during the last 3 years or 4 years, and I stated that I regarded them as unanswered correspondence.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I believe you failed to mention the All-American Anti-Imperialist League. Is that another patriotic organization according to your ideas of patriotism?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You don't know it? Did you know that your name appeared on that organization's stationery?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. As one of its sponsors?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not; no. I don't remember.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I have before me a photostatic copy of a letterhead which says: Headquarters at 39 Union Square, New York City, and your name is prominently listed along with others as a sponsor of this organization.

Mr. LOVETT. I was opposed to the armed intervention of the United States forces in the Caribbean and it is possible that owing to my attitude I was regarded as a member or sponsor, but I confess that I do not recall the organization under that name.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. You say that you belonged to the League Against War and Fascism organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Why did they change their name to the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LOVETT. Because Against War and Fascism had a negative content and Peace and Democracy are merely the positive terms in substitution.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Did you know that they had been—that they had petitions here in Washington, going into the House of Representatives to sign the petition Against War and Fascism, and they were told if they would include communism in it, that many would sign the petition? Did you hear about that?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. They refused to put communism in it, and later on, because of the way they were rebuffed by the people, they changed

it to Peace and Democracy, so that they could fool the people more; isn't that the reason?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, now, as an intelligent man, what is your opinion as to why they changed it?

Mr. LOVETT. I can understand why they could not include communism in the title, because the Communists were among the most vigorous opponents of fascism. They regarded fascism as a more dangerous enemy than communism, and the Communists were members of the league.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. And they believed if they could influence this country toward communism, it would be all right.

Mr. LOVETT. That interpretation has never been suggested to me.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, it had been suggested by those organizations.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, the report that I have before me from the F. B. I. shows that this All-American Anti-Imperialistic League organization was not only a Communist front but one which openly professed treasonable objectives, namely, agitation for Communist aims in the armed forces of the United States, and yet you were a member of that organization, and didn't even know it; you didn't know that they had such aims?

Mr. LOVETT. You will have to look up the point of my membership. As I say, I was opposed to the form of an imperialism that took the aim——

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You see your name there on that list, do you?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You see that your name is there?

Mr. LOVETT. What is the date, please?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. April 11, 1928, and the letter is addressed "Dear Comrade."

Now, I believe you say you were—or did you say you were a member of the organization called the Congress of Youth? Did you say you were a member of that or not?

Mr. LOVETT. I would have to ask you again for the date. Was that the American Youth Congress?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. No; this is another organization, calling the Congress of Youth: "We, the undersigned, urge the organization of youth and youth agencies serving youth, to respond to this call to the Congress of Youth," and it is signed by Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, that, I take it, is the same as the American Youth Congress to which, as I have already said, I gave my blessing at the outset.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Then you didn't know that it was a front for the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not so describe it. There were, undoubtedly, Communists in the organization.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, do you know that the inter-departmental committee also found that this organization was a Communist front? Did you know that?

Mr. LOVETT. No. Did they find that at the time of the organization or later?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Just when they found that it was a Communist front, these files do not show. Now, let me see.

You were a member also of the American Peace Mobilization Society, or something.

Mr. LOVETT. I have explained that I approved the call with the distinct understanding that I should present to them my views, to that organization; that the only possible way to peace was through collective security, and at the moment it meant all-out aid to England.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, now, did you approve the picketing of the White House up until about 2 hours before Germany went over the line to Russia?

Mr. LOVETT. I had no connection with the organization except when it was proposed. I said that I would appear at the convention and made the statement that I have already indicated. What happened later, I do not know. My name was simply dropped from the organization when it appeared that my views were not in accord with the majority.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the question read and answered. Your question has not been answered yet.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What was my question?

(Question read by the reporter.)

Mr. LOVETT. No; I never knew about it.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. You didn't know that they were picketing the White House during those weeks that they were up there?

Mr. LOVETT. I read that in the newspaper, but that was long after my connection with the American Mobilization had lapsed, because my views were not the views of the majority. I had no part in the organization of the movement, made no contribution to it, merely stated at the outset that I would favor the calling of the conference in Chicago, provided I had an opportunity to state my views that peace, mobilization for peace, meant collective security, all-out aid to England.

Now, what happened after that I have no responsibility for.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. You knew about the picketing of the White House. Did you condemn that picketing?

Mr. LOVETT. I think I saw the statement of it in the paper after I was in the Virgin Islands, and I had no opportunity to condemn it. I was then out of all connection with the organization. It has passed me by, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, I can't name all of these; it would take too long a time, but here is the Champion of Youth. Did you ever hear of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, did you know that you were one of the sponsors of it? Your name appears.

Mr. LOVETT. That was probably one of the organizations that grew out of the Union of the Socialist and Communist Youth, in the movement that I have already discussed.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, since you mentioned the Socialist and Communist youth, did you attend a meeting, a political meeting, in the city of New York during the political campaign during 1940, at which time you made a speech or statement in which you said, in effect, that you would prefer to vote for Mr. Browder for president of the United States, but for reasons which you gave you stated that you would vote for Norman Thomas.

Mr. LOVETT. No; I never made such a statement.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You never made such a statement?

Mr. LOVETT. Never; no.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And any published reports of such a speech or statement would be false?

Mr. LOVETT. False. I never attended such a meeting.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. At any time?

Mr. LOVETT. At any time.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. 1936 or 1937, even?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I will say that I have in my possession a clipping quoting a speech made, a public speech, by you, in the city of New York.

Mr. LOVETT. I should like to see it. In 1940 I was in the Virgin Islands and taking no part whatever in politics.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What about 1936? Now, it may be that it was in 1936 instead of 1940.

Mr. LOVETT. I never made any such statement that I would prefer to vote for Browder.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Did you make a political speech in 1936 in New York, during the campaign?

Mr. LOVETT. If I did, I made a speech in favor of Norman Thomas.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That was in 1936?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir. I could not possibly have said anything in commendation of Browder's candidacy in that year because I was strongly in favor of Norman Thomas' candidacy as a protest.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I will ask you one question there in relation to your platform. Do you believe in producing for profit or producing for use only?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't believe in producing entirely for use or entirely for profit. I hope you don't think I am straddling. I believe that the primary purpose for production is use, but I don't believe that you can produce to maximum capacity for use without the profit motive.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. All of those organizations that you belong to, the majority believe in producing for use only——

Mr. LOVETT. We emphasize——

Mr. FITZPATRICK (interposing). For use only. Do you ever emphasize production for profit?

Mr. LOVETT. We emphasize use as the fundamental motive for production, and we believe that that should be emphasized; that there is already sufficient emphasis on production for profit.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I know, but you advocate a government which will take over the production and produce for use only.

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, that is the platform of the Communist Party.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, I am not a Communist.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I know, but all of those friends, the majority of them, advocate it, and it is discussed quite frequently in their meetings, isn't that true? That they are active in that?

Mr. LOVETT. May I go back to this for a moment? This is——

Mr. FITZPATRICK (interposing). Well, I asked you that question. Isn't it discussed quite frequently in all of those organizations, the question of producing for profit or for use?

Mr. LOVETT. For use, because we feel that that is the side of the question that needs emphasis.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is all.

Mr. LOVETT. I don't think anybody would deny that the profit motive was necessary at the present time in order to secure production for use.

It is not denied in Russia. They do not deny the profit motive in any State, so far as I know, Socialists, Communists, or anything else.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, who controls production in Russia?

Mr. LOVETT. The State controls it.

Mr. CARTER. Do you believe in that?

Mr. LOVETT. For use, the profit motive, however, to speculate—

Mr. CARTER. Do you believe in that?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I am not a State Socialist.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What kind of a Socialist are you?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not a Socialist.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Oh, you are not a Socialist? I thought you said you were.

Mr. LOVETT. I believe that a certain amount of regimentation is necessary to control human greed, but I don't go far beyond the O. P. A.

May I get back to this Champion of Youth? This is a paper—I am glad you mentioned it, if you will allow me to correct my statement—it was a paper which had, I think, a very short life and was the result of the combination of the young people from the League for Industrial Democracy and the Young People of the Communist League.

And you will see among the names here undoubtedly there are some Communists. Here is Dr. Edward Lindman; here is Oswald Garrison Villard; Mr. C. Hartley Groton, and others; Harry Barnes. Those are certainly not Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But your name does appear frequently and particularly with prominent Communists of the country. And you are rather proud of it, aren't you?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir; I have no feeling, one way or the other.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You say you are not a Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. No; certainly not.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. How come you have been a contributing editor to Communist magazines, such as Soviet Russia Today, the official organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVETT. That is an organization devoted to cultivating friendship with Russia, but it is not a Communist organization.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. It is not a Communist organization?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What about the Daily Worker; is that a Communist publication?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you ever contribute to the Daily Worker?

Mr. LOVETT. Not to my recollection. I think I can say emphatically no.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Then if there are any clippings with your name attached to them in these files, they are forgeries; would that be true?

Mr. LOVETT. I should like to see them first. My memory may be at fault, but I have no recollection of ever contributing to the Daily Worker.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, you say this magazine, Soviet Russia Today, is not a Communist magazine?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Now, if this same interdepartmental committee has found that such was, why, they didn't know what they were talking about; is that right?

Mr. LOVETT. It is for the purpose of cultivating friendly relations between Russia and the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you take up the cudgel for Harry Bridges?

Mr. LOVETT. I did.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you contribute to his defense?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. How much?

Mr. LOVETT. Oh, a small amount; only \$10. I don't think I have ever contributed any large amounts, because I am not in a position to do so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Do you know of a Communist organization or any Communist front in this country that you haven't actively affiliated yourself with?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not familiar with the lists of Communist publications and organizations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, if you are not, I would just like to know who is, judging from these forty-odd files in front of me, where they address you as "Dear Comrade." Do you address them as "Dear Comrade" when you talk to them?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Just a one-sided correspondence.

Mr. LOVETT. One-sided friendship.

Mr. JONES. You do not feel occasioned to rebuke them when they call you "Dear Comrade," is that it?

Mr. LOVETT. I think most of those letters are not answered. I submitted, as I said, a list of letters that I received from organizations to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, because one of the questions they constantly asked me in reference to this and that was, "Have you received any communications," and I was unable to remember, but I said, "I will give you a complete list of organizations which, for my happiness, I have been asked to contribute for the last years."

Mr. JONES. But you never felt it necessary to rebuke any Communist organization that called you "Dear Comrade"?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JONES. And set them right?

Mr. LOVETT. I never paid any attention to the letter.

Mr. JONES. Well, wouldn't it alarm you as an employee of the Government when a Communist organization that the Attorney General says is determined to overthrow the United States Government, would address you, or any member of them would address you as "Dear Comrade"?

Mr. LOVETT. Of course, the term "Comrade" is in use by other organizations than the Communist Party.

Mr. JONES. What other organization?

Mr. LOVETT. If the letter were addressed to me implying that I was a Communist, I should resent it.

Mr. JONES. But none of these letters raised any implication in your mind?

Mr. LOVETT. None that I know of, so far.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, let us see. Are you familiar with an organization known as International Labor Defense?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you know when you signed your name to a call for a meeting of that organization sponsored by the Daily Worker, that it was a Communist front?

Mr. LOVETT. I knew that the International Labor Defense was a Communist organization. What was the purpose of the meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, what is the purpose of any Communist meeting?

Mr. LOVETT. Relief, in that case, I take it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you signed it, knowing it was a Communist organization?

Mr. LOVETT. If the purpose was a good one; yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I see you signed it along with some very prominent gentlemen, including one Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. LOVETT. A colleague of yours, Mr. Chairman, is he not?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes; that is right; a colleague of mine, and a gentleman who was very bitter against the war; that it was an imperialist war and a war that was sponsored by the international bankers until the moment that Hitler went over the line into Russia, and then it became a holy war.

Mr. LOVETT. That is perfectly true; certainly true.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you follow that trend?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I have tried to explain, Mr. Chairman, that from the moment the war began I was in favor of all-out aid to England, France, Poland, and finally to England alone.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I don't believe I will name all of these. You admit freely that you sponsored them, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. In some cases.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Shall I give you the names of all of them? Well, your name is printed here and signed here, even your signature. There are more than 40 of them.

Mr. LOVETT. Sometimes these organizations are practically duplicates.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Undoubtedly they are.

Mr. LOVETT. That is why the bulk is so great.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. They all appear to be, according to the Attorney General, Communist fronts. National Committee for People's Rights. I see your name is one of the sponsors of that organization. Did you know that was a Communist organization when you affiliated yourself with it?

Mr. LOVETT. I should not describe it as a Communist organization.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you think now it is not, regardless of what the Attorney General says about it?

Mr. LOVETT. I should accept the verdict of the Attorney General, but I should think the difference between "Communist organization" and "Communist front" ought to be emphasized. Undoubtedly,

Communists enter many organizations for the purpose of using them for party purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you ever hear of an organization known as For the Defense of Political Prisoners National Committee?

Mr. LOVETT. Is it the international committee?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, of which David Kinkad is assistant secretary, and Joseph Gelders is the secretary.

Did you know you sponsored that organization, and did you know that it has been held to be a Communist-front organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know that it has been so held. I thought that that was probably a confusion with the International Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You think the interdepartmental committee probably got that confused?

Mr. GARDNER. I thought when he was first asked about this organization—could I be clarified on one point, Mr. Chairman, as to the Attorney General's interdepartmental findings?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. There were about 10 or 15 organizations, as I recall, that they issued a little confidential mimeograph on a year or two ago, in which they stressed Communist penetration and control. I don't think the number is beyond that 10 or 15, though I may be mistaken on that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I think that is right.

Mr. GARDNER. I don't think each of these 40, for example, have been condemned by the Attorney General.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I think that is right. He just didn't get around to all of them. It would take up too much time, as demonstrated by this hearing this morning.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, I accept the correction. I was a part of that.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Lovett, you said that the Communists got control of some of these organizations.

Mr. LOVETT. They did.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Were not many of them organized by the Communists?

Mr. LOVETT. I think they were organized. As I say, as united fronts; the effort to bring back the forces which were opposed to fascism.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. They were organized by the Communists?

Mr. LOVETT. In connection with others.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Yes; but it isn't that they went in to take control; they were responsible for organizing them.

Mr. LOVETT. They were undoubtedly worked with others to organize certain organizations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I see that you were vice chairman back in 1935 of an organization called the American League Against War and Fascism. Did you help organize, or did you organize, that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I had nothing to do with the organization, as far as I remember, but I joined it in 1935 as vice chairman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Are you still a member of that?

Mr. LOVETT. That has gone out of existence. That is the same as the American League for Peace and Democracy, to which you have already referred.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Sitting with you as second vice chairman was a very distinguished and well-known gentleman by the name of Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States; isn't that true?

Mr. LOVETT. That is true.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you met him in organization meetings?

Mr. LOVETT. I already stated that the Communists were members of that organization, but they were not in control.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I will refresh your memory again. And I will correct the record now, as far as 1940 is concerned.

In 1936, did you not make a speech at a meeting in New York at which time you stated you would prefer to vote for Earl Browder for President, but for reasons of your own you were voting for Mr. Thomas?

Mr. LOVETT. I could never have made such a statement, sir; never.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, let me see. Here is a new one, the National People's Committee Against Hearst. Did you know that you were one of the sponsors of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You are one of the sponsors, or you were one of the sponsors of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you know at the time that it was an auxiliary of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not.

Mr. CARTER. What was the purpose of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. May I look at the presentment? I was very likely a member of that organization because I regard the influence of Mr. Hearst as subversive. You will see that in the list of members of this committee, the great majority are not Communists.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire that was the purpose of that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. It was to limit the influence of the Hearst publications which we thought was detrimental to the public.

Mr. CARTER. What doctrines did you take exception to?

Mr. LOVETT. How is that?

Mr. CARTER. What doctrines, as enunciated by Mr. Hearst, did you take exceptions to?

Mr. LOVETT. Well, personally, sir, I took exception to his constant persecution of me, his mention of me in all possible connections, following the attempt to deport John Stratchey.

Mr. CARTER. I am not concerned about your personal attitude toward Mr. Hearst.

Mr. LOVETT. I was merely one among others.

Mr. CARTER. But I would like to know the object of this organization, if it had any other object than your personal animosity toward Mr. Hearst.

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir. I regard myself as merely one example of personal journalism as carried on by the Hearst papers.

Mr. CARTER. I ask this question: What principles and doctrines enunciated by Mr. Hearst was this organization opposed to?

Mr. LOVETT. Particularly to his practice of personal journalism attacks upon individuals.

Mr. CARTER. I think I have seen, in connection with this publication, in various places, that he carries the slogan, "America for Americans."

Mr. FITZPATRICK. May I say something off the record?
(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CARTER. Were you critical of that slogan?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. All right. The League for American Writers was organized in 1935, at the call of a group of well-known Communists, including Earl Browder, and with the issuance of a manifesto which was ultra, ultrarevolutionary in its statement. Did you have anything to do with that outfit?

Mr. LOVETT. I am a member of the League of American Writers.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you sign that call along with Browder?

Mr. LOVETT. I was not a member, so far as I can recall, at that time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I have a list here of those who signed the call, a manifesto and a call, signed by Newton Arvin and Van W. Brooks.

Mr. LOVETT. Van Wyck Brooks.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Signed Ernest Caldwell, Malcolm Crowell, Waldo Frank, Langton Hughes, James Walton Johnson, John Howard Lawston, and I am surprised and somewhat ashamed to say, Robert Morss Lovett.

Mr. LOVETT. I accept correction in regard to the organization. I was a member at that time and certainly I am not ashamed of having signed a call with those distinguished men.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. The American Student Union, another Communist front, had on its board of advisors——

Mr. LOVETT. I regret the error I made. My recollection was that I joined the League of American Writers after it had been organized, perhaps as late as 1939.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. This is for the purpose of refreshing your memory.

Mr. LOVETT. Thank you, sir. The Student Union, I have explained, was a combination of the Young People's Chapters of the League for Industrial Democracy, and the Young Communist League.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And so you were perfectly willing to be a member of the organization which was sponsored by the Young Communist League?

Mr. LOVETT. The organization was a combination, and I naturally joined as an advisor of the chapters of the League for Industrial Democracy, and we fought hard to keep the organization from being dominated by the Communists and when the Communists did dominate it, it died.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, were you a contributor to a publication known as New Masses?

Mr. LOVETT. Not a regular contributor. I believe I contributed one book review in the form, perhaps, of a communication. I wrote a review of a book written by a friend of mine.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. In that article you were very critical of Secretary Hull and his foreign policy.

Mr. LOVETT. Very possibly.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I notice that was before Russia got into this fight, wasn't it? You didn't like his policy before then, did you?

Mr. LOVETT. My policy, personally, was the same before and after Russia entered the war.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You think Mr. Hull's policy is all right now, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. In some respects; yes. In some respects I differ.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you say in this article regarding his sympathy, "It lies above all with a nest of Fascist sympathizers in the State Department"?

Mr. LOVETT. I should have to read the article to refresh my memory. It is possibly in reference to the attitude, the pro-Franco attitude, as we saw it, on the part of the State Department, or members of the State Department.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma (reading):

And in whose dour hands resolve and work have been up to the present something less resilient than putty.

You didn't charge him with being putty exactly, but being putty in the hands of Franco and resilient, and then added that you agreed with the New Masses.

Mr. LOVETT. Probably in support of the Spanish Republic. I still agree.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, the State Department was neutral during that war.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That was what you blamed them for, for being neutral, wasn't it?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I don't think they were neutral.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, if there was anything else said, that would make you think otherwise, then.

Mr. LOVETT. I thought the policy of nonintervention to which our State Department subscribed, was not neutral because it allowed munitions and supplies to go to Italy and Germany, countries which were fighting the Spanish Republic, while we cut off supplies from the Spanish Republicans.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. And they permitted it to go to France at the same time, did they not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. So that showed they didn't make any exception. It went to the sympathizers of the Loyalists, as you call them, and it went to their enemies.

Mr. LOVETT. But France was also in the same position and so was England, to nonintervention, which really permitted the interventionist countries to set Franco up as chief of state.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. But they didn't refuse to sell to the Loyalists or other sympathizers; isn't that true?

Mr. LOVETT. The United States did not permit goods to go to Spanish Republicans.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Now, you say they did not permit. If they could get the material there, they could have purchased it here; is not that true?

Mr. LOVETT. That is not my understanding.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, now, that is why they were neutral, because they didn't interfere one way or the other. Whichever side was able to take the material over there, they permitted it to go.

Mr. LOVETT. My recollection is that the shipment of arms to the Spanish Republicans was forbidden.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, now, let me see about another organization, the League for Mutual Aid. Do you remember signing up as one of the advisory committee?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. In that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you know that with very few exceptions, this advisory committee was composed of well-known Communists and fellow travelers?

Mr. LOVETT. The organization exists for the purpose of making small loans to people in distress, and it makes those loans with no reference to party affiliation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, you didn't answer my question.

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I am simply asking you, with few exceptions, the sponsors of that organization were well-known Communists and fellow travelers?

Mr. LOVETT. I signed it on the basis of the value which the organization is to poor people.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, then, you don't care to answer the question?

Mr. LOVETT. I do. I have no reason to withdraw my small contributions from that organization because Communists also contribute. I am glad they do.

Mr. CARTER. Just a moment. The question has never been answered. Do you want to answer the question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You either did or did not know you were signing up there with a bunch of Communists.

Mr. LOVETT. I will say that I did not know it, but that the question seems to me irrelevant whether other people contribute.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, the committee does not think it is irrelevant. We ask the question and expect a reply. You either knew it or did not know it.

Mr. LOVETT. I did not know.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. If you did not know, would you have contributed just the same?

Mr. LOVETT. I would. That is what I wished to say. It is an exceedingly useful small organization which, as I say, helps poor people over difficult times.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you ever hear of an organization known as the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Were you the first man to sign a letter, an open letter, condemning the action of the executive board of the American Civil Liberties Union in barring Communists from holding office?

Mr. LOVETT. It was not intended to be published. My letter was a protest to the organization itself against a change of policy which they had followed from the beginning.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. They had enacted a policy of not permitting Communists to hold office on the executive board of the American Civil Liberties Union, and you felt outraged about that to the extent that you were No. 1 of 17 persons who signed the list protesting against Communists serving; isn't that true?

Mr. LOVETT. It is, but could I say it was not intended to be public.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Oh, a lot of this was not intended to be public, of course.

Mr. LOVETT. No, I beg your pardon; it was intended to be presented to the American Civil Liberties Union, in private, as a protest against their change of policy which resulted in dismissing a dually elected member of their board.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But you did sign this protest against Communists who advocated the overthrow of the Government by force, serving on the board, and you protested against it, and you signed your name and headed the list.

Mr. LOVETT. I did not.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And still expect this committee to make an appropriation for your salary at the expense of the taxpayers of the American Government. So far as I am concerned, I am through.

Any more questions?

Mr. LOVETT. I expect nothing of the committee. I am proud to serve the American Government in any way that I can. If this committee—

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But you are also proud to serve the Communist Party—

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. In that respect, are you not?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. If that is not doing the bidding of the Communists in this country, then what is?

You are protesting against Communists serving on a board.

Mr. LOVETT. I was protesting against a change of policy on the part of the Civil Liberties Union which I thought was detrimental to the Union itself.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You thought that kicking the Communists off was detrimental to it, eh?

Now, you have repeatedly stated that you have never participated in connection with a political gathering in New York in behalf of the Communist Party, or the Communist Party's candidacy for President of the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I hold in my hand a photostatic copy of a report of a meeting. Exhibit No. 45 is a photostatic copy of an article from the Daily Worker, November 3, 1936, on which exhibit the name of Robert Morss Lovett is featured. It says:

Twenty thousand cheer Presidency candidate at Garden Rally. As each speaker arose a banner announced which of the Communist Party's election planks they would discuss; dramatized party slogan, communism is twentieth

century Americanism. Two 20-foot cardboard pictures of the Spirit of '76 and the Spirit of '36 stood on each side of the stage—and so forth.

More than 3,000 people were in the overflow meeting outside of the Garden when Browder began to speak.

And further, I read in the next paragraph—

Robert Morss Lovett—

and the next word is obliterated—

of the University of Chicago arrives at the Garden after police had ordered the doors closed.

Mr. LOVETT. Did I get in?

Mr. CARTER. What do you say?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma (reading):

Unable to gain admittance, he joined the overflow throng on Forty-ninth Street.

It was not your fault you did not get in, was it?

Mr. LOVETT. I never had the slightest intention of getting in, and I remember now that from the loud speaker outside a request was made for Robert Morss Lovett to respond, if present. I made no response. It was a piece of sheer impudence to have me to have any part in the meeting.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. But you rushed down there.

Mr. LOVETT. I did not. My recollection is that I passed the Garden on my return from some other meeting, or from dinner somewhere.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You just happened to be passing.

Mr. LOVETT. It was entirely by accident that I stopped outside of the Garden for a few moments, sir.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Who knew you?

Mr. LOVETT. What?

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Who knew you or recognized you, to give your name to the press?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know. But, as I say, the whole thing was pure impudence calling out my name, and asking me to appear. They knew that I would, under no circumstances, appear at a gathering of the Communist Party.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you resent it over in Chicago when you were invited to appear on the same program with Earl Browder and Mother Bloor as prominent picnic speakers for the Communist Party on July 4, in Chicago? That was impudence, too, was it?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't remember that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You don't remember? All right. I will read a little in the record, then.

Mr. LOVETT. What date?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. This is an article dated June 30, 1939, about a July 4th address.

Earl Browder and Mother Bloor will be picnic speakers for the Communist Party on July 4th in Chicago. Advance arrangements for the celebration of Mother Bloor's 75th birthday in Chicago. Forecasting a record for the event also, many prominent women have put their name on the sponsor's list for the luncheon in honor of the beloved woman leader.

And you also have endorsed it—

Robert Morris Lovett wrote that he was proud to be asked to sponsor this organization.

Mr. LOVETT. Only personally for Mother Bloor, a personal tribute to her.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Who is she? A Communist?

Mr. LOVETT. Mother Bloor?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Yes.

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know. I believe so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Oh, you don't know? You didn't resent that, did you?

Mr. LOVETT. I know that she has been a leader of farm women in the Middle West, and the celebration of her seventy-fifth birthday was a purely personal matter. I did not appear at the picnic or the celebration, and I may have written a note of congratulation to Mother Bloor of her achieving that age.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you ever hear of an organization known as American Council for Soviet Relations?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Did you sponsor that organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I think I was a member of it. That, like the Friends of the Soviet Union, was intended to bring about a better understanding, and better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you did not know—you deny that it is or has ever been a Communist front? You think it is a patriotic organization?

Mr. LOVETT. I do, yes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. I would like to ask one question.

Do you believe that a Communist has a right, under our Constitution, to advocate certain changes in our Government as long as they live up to the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe they have a right to advocate a change in government under the Constitution.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. That is what I mean.

Mr. LOVETT. And through the regulations and restrictions prescribed by the Constitution for the conduct of our Government.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. And not by force or violence?

Mr. LOVETT. Not by force or violence; certainly not.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, this next is an organization for the reelection of Vito Marcantonio. You were a member of that organization, I see.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And to your way of thinking, he is a great statesman, I presume.

Mr. LOVETT. I would not go so far as that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Here is another one: "Civil Rights Party asks for Black's ouster." What Black is that? For the ouster of Judge Edward Black.

Well, did you speak at the conference of sit-down strikers, endorsing the sit-down strikes?

Mr. LOVETT. I visited the sit-down strikers in Flint, Mich., I think.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. You told them you owned stock in the General Motors Corporation and that you endorsed their action, asking for the impeachment of Judge Black; is that correct?

Mr. LOVETT. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Is the Mutual Aid—we have had that.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Then you are proud to have belonged to all of those organizations, are you?

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you believed in the tenets as advocated by these organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That is all, so far as I am concerned. Any questions?

Mr. CARTER. You contributed to the defense of a man by the name of Woods, that the chairman asked you about a while ago.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. And you say that he was accused of distributing Communist literature?

Mr. LOVETT. That was my understanding of the case.

Mr. CARTER. Yes. You think that he has a right to do that, do you?

Mr. LOVETT. I understand that the books that were on sale, sold in his book store, were the regular Communist classics, you may say, of Karl Marx and others, books which are on sale everywhere.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, you know he distributed the filthiest kind of Communist propaganda advocating the overthrow of the Government by force; you know that, don't you?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. CARTER. Well, you know that he sometimes did distribute leaflets and pamphlets, do you not, in addition to other articles; the books that you say he sold?

Mr. LOVETT. I presume so, but I don't know the character of those books.

Mr. CARTER. Do you know to whom he was distributing those?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. CARTER. Do you know whether he distributed this communistic literature to the colored people?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not.

Mr. CARTER. It would not make any difference to you?

Mr. LOVETT. It would depend entirely on the literature that he was distributing. I should be opposed to distributing any subversive literature, and literature inspiring to revolution, to violence, to any change in Government as a result of force and violence.

Mr. CARTER. You were not informed of those facts at the time you made the contribution?

Mr. LOVETT. I am afraid not, sir.

Mr. CARTER. You have belonged to organizations that you say, without doubt, some Communists belonged to also.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. You have been associated with them to some considerable extent.

Mr. LOVETT. I should not say to a considerable extent. I have served on board of directors and committees of which Communists were members.

Mr. CARTER. And you got along with them all right, did you?

Mr. LOVETT. Not always.

Mr. CARTER. Not always?

Mr. LOVETT. I have already indicated that the tendency is for Communists to take advantage of their superior discipline, and an organization to dominate organizations, and I have opposed that tendency in different organizations of which I was a member.

Mr. CARTER. Do you favor Communists distributing generally their literature, pamphlets, special essays, and writings, throughout this country?

Mr. LOVETT. It depends on the character, sir, of the publication.

Mr. CARTER. Well, have you ever seen any that you objected to?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. But notwithstanding the fact that you had seen pamphlets that you objected to, you made a contribution to the Woods defense fund without knowing what he was distributing.

Mr. LOVETT. Unfortunately, yes. The case was represented to me as simply a denial of civil liberties, and the case against Woods, as I understood it, rested upon his selling of books which are in general circulation, Communist manifestos, the writings of Karl Marx, and so forth. If I was misled, I believe I was misled by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations that I have been in the habit of giving contributions to.

Mr. CARTER. Are Karl Marx's writings still in many book stores?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. CARTER. Well, were you led to believe that Oklahoma had a special statute against distribution of Karl Marx' works?

Mr. LOVETT. I understood that the case against Woods was based upon his selling books which are in——

Mr. CARTER. General circulation?

Mr. LOVETT. General circulation; yes. I did not know about this angle of the case that you speak of.

Mr. CARTER. Well, you have undoubtedly read reports of the Communists distributing literature to the colored people throughout the South, newspaper articles, or something of that kind, or do you know that they are doing that?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know that; no.

Mr. CARTER. Did you ever hear that they were doing that?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. CARTER. You never have heard that?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. CARTER. That is all.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Do you take the Daily Worker?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JONES. When is the last time you received a copy of it?

Mr. LOVETT. Oh, I should think possibly 4 or 5 years ago. I have not seen a copy since I have been in the Virgin Islands, and that is nearly 4 years, and I don't remember seeing it for 2 or 3 years before that; in fact, I have seen very few copies.

Mr. JONES. Did you know you were on the Dies list of the un-American activities committee?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JONES. Did you come before the Dies committee?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JONES. You never did anything to straighten out the conclusions they made about you? You never contacted the committee in any way?

Mr. LOVETT. I understand that I am to appear before the Dies committee. I have always been willing to appear.

Mr. JONES. You were mentioned in their list of about 39, weren't you?

Mr. LOVETT. I really cannot say.

Mr. JONES. That does not stick in your mind at all?

It was not sufficiently impressive, if the facts were true that you were on their list, to make any representations to them at all?

Mr. LOVETT. I presume that I was in the Virgin Islands at the time and the news did not reach me.

Mr. JONES. What do you say the purpose of any Communist organization is?

Mr. LOVETT. I am not a Communist, and I am not a member of any exclusively Communist organization, and therefore I cannot answer that question.

Mr. JONES. I thought you made a statement, unless I misunderstood you, that the purpose of any Communist organization was something---

Mr. LOVETT (interposing). Well, presumably to advocate the doctrines of communism, the Marxian form of collectivism, to bring support to Soviet Russia.

Mr. JONES. And I believe you said that the American League Against War and Fascism was one of the organizations that you were a member of.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JONES. And you believed in it because it was for collective security.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JONES. You still think that collective security is the best method to pursue in this country?

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly. I think only by an organization of nations opposed to war can we outlaw war from the world.

Mr. JONES. You don't mean collective security or individuals in collectivism.

Mr. LOVETT. I am speaking of collective security through organization of nations.

Mr. JONES. I believe that is all.

Mr. NORRELL. I would just like to review briefly, Mr. Chairman, with reference to a few statements which have nothing to do with the organizations that he has joined.

I believe you were interrogated by the chairman with reference to a letter that you wrote in which you said that the United States Government was rotten. You made that statement in connection with a statement regarding Russia.

Mr. LOVETT. I said that all governments are rotten in the sense that all are in a sense corrupt, and I wish to further explain that if I had been writing carefully I should have used the historical statement of Lord Acton that all power leads to corruption.

Mr. NORRELL. You are a very smart man and I assume you knew what you were doing when you wrote this letter.

Mr. LOVETT. I was writing to an individual. I don't believe that that letter ought ever to have been brought into—brought before a committee which was investigating Communist teaching in universities.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, you do say, though, in this letter that the United States Government, in your opinion, was rotten.

Mr. LOVETT. I said all governments.

Mr. NORRELL. And you included the United States Government.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir; in the sense in which the writer of the letter, which I was answering, understood it; that is to say, corruption.

Mr. NORRELL. We cannot go into the realm of what somebody else understood.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, I admit it was a careless statement and if I had been writing more carefully for a publication, I should have chosen my words more carefully, but the man to whom the letter was written understood it in the sense in which I meant that, that there were rotten spots in every government.

Mr. NORRELL. Would you make a statement to a most confidential friend that the United States Government was rotten?

Mr. LOVETT. I would say that all Governments contain elements of rottenness.

Mr. NORRELL. That is not what you say here. You made the statement that the United States Government is rotten.

Mr. LOVETT. That was an unguarded and extreme statement, which, as I say, appeared only in a private letter and would be understood by the man to whom it was written.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, for the record, we would like you to state what part of the United States Government you consider rotten today.

Mr. LOVETT. At the time I was——

Mr. NORRELL. (interpsing). Now, wait just a moment, I want a statement for the record, as brief as you can make it, being fair to you today, now, as to what part of the United States Government presently you consider rotten.

Mr. LOVETT. The officials of the United States Government who use their political power for private advantage or persecution of their enemies so that use of power, that misuse of power is what I should characterize as rotten.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, Doctor, you are too smart——

Mr. LOVETT. (interposing). I beg your pardon? I am not in the least smart; no, sir. I should not think, having written that letter, that I had been smart.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, assume that you are, for the sake of the record.

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir. It is an assumption contrary to the fact.

Mr. NORRELL. I think anybody that could be hired as a professor in the great University of Chicago, could not be dumb to gain a position like that.

Now, what I want to ask you, in place of saying that a government is rotten, that the United States Government is rotten, why don't you say that certain officials of the United States Government, or of all governments, are corrupt and rotten?

Now, you are too smart not to make a distinction between the Government of the United States and certain corrupt officials of the United States.

Mr. LOVETT. The statement was an unguarded one, but the writer was—the man to whom I was writing, who had written to me, understood it in the sense in which you make a statement. His book dealt with cases of corruption in the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, and I was mostly concerned with assuring him that I did not, in the least, object to his bringing those cases out, and I did not object to persons bringing similar cases out in connection with our own Government.

Mr. NORRELL. All right, Doctor.

To be as brief as I can myself, and I would like for you to be as brief and to the point as possible, I want to ask this question again: Will you state for the record if any part of the United States Government, as a government—not as officials but as a government—is rotten? Now, I want to know what part of the government you consider rotten, if any part?

Mr. LOVETT. I said only officials in the Government, who are part of the Government, and who use their power for corrupt ends. There are such individuals. There are such officials.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. If you have some information, I would like to know about it.

Mr. NORRELL. I will get to that in a moment. We will get back to the negative side, then.

Are you willing to say for the record that no part of the United States Government today is corrupt, according to your information, outside and apart from certain of its officials?

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon, sir. I would say that no part of the government of any country is entirely free from the corruption brought in by corrupt individuals; is that an answer?

Mr. NORRELL. No, sir. Here is the United States Government.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir; I believe in that Government.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. I am glad you do.

Now, I want to know what you condemn and what part of our Government you consider to be rotten—not the officials now; don't go over that, but what part of the Government do you consider rotten?

Mr. LOVETT. But the Government is made up of officials.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. Now, don't go over that again. The record is getting too voluminous.

What part of the Government, as an institution today, do you condemn?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't condemn any part in toto.

Mr. NORRELL. Then you consider that it is all all right, so far as you are concerned, and not rotten; you condemn the officials but you do not consider today, yourself, that any part of our Government as an institution, is rotten?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. Notwithstanding what you said in this letter to your friend, to the contrary?

Mr. LOVETT. I will have to explain again——

Mr. NORRELL (interposing). Don't go over that again. You have explained that fully.

Mr. LOVETT. That letter was written as a private letter to a man who would understand what I meant.

Mr. NORRELL. All right, Doctor. Why, then, on the heels of this letter, and I assume immediately prior to that, or subsequent to the letter to your friend here that you just talked about, in which you said that the United States Government was rotten along with all others why, along about that same time, did you sign an open letter to American liberals, in which you state: "I wish to take the opportunity of going on record as reaffirming their faith in the Soviet Union, their confidence in the Soviet Union."

Why did you make such a distinction, on the one hand, you were writing about the United States, and on the other hand, you were writing about the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOVETT. I should make the same statement about the United States 1,000 times stronger, that we have the confidence of the United States.

Mr. NORRELL. But you didn't say that in the letter over here to your friend.

Mr. LOVETT. That was irrelevant to the purpose at that time. If I were making a public statement, I should affirm my faith in the Government of the United States, and I would also affirm my faith in the Government of the Soviet Union, which I believe has been tested by fire.

Mr. NORRELL. But it is true that in June—June 26, 1935, I believe is the date—you made the statement that the United States Government was rotten, and then in an open letter in March 1937, prior to this letter, about the United States Government—I assume you have read it since your name is signed to it—you reaffirm your faith in the Soviet Union and your confidence in the Soviet Union; regardless of what explanation you might have, you more or less subscribed in March 1937, to the reaffirmation of your faith in the Soviet Union and your confidence in the Soviet Union, following that on June 26, 1935—now, that is prior, June 26, 1935, 2 years before that statement was rendered about the Soviet Union—you issued this letter with reference to the United States.

Mr. LOVETT. That letter was dated, to the best of my recollection in 1926.

Mr. NORRELL. I believe you are right.

Mr. LOVETT. You will remember that the Teapot Dome scandals were rather prominent in the public mind at that time.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, if you said you condemned Albert Lee Fall, or Harry Daugherty, I would have been the first one to have complimented you for that.

Mr. LOVETT. I presume that it was that situation that I had in mind in using the unguarded expression which I did use.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, you state, Doctor—and I want to get this for the record—that this finding of the Senate committee is all wrong. I believe you stated that in answer to some questions from the chairman of our committee, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Which committee?

Mr. NORRELL. That is their finding, I believe, the official report as of June 26, 1935. The chairman read you that.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, this committee is then just wrong about that. That is your position, isn't it?

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon. I don't quite get the force of that.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, the chairman read you the findings of the Senate committee with reference to what they thought.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, for the record, would you say that these Senators are just wrong in their findings and conclusions?

Mr. LOVETT. I think they are. They certainly established no charge against me of teaching communism in the University of Chicago, which was what they were appointed to investigate.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, dealing with reference to quotations and not organizations now, I find here in this Fight War Pamphlet this statement:

If you are a student in the Reserve Officers Training Corps you cannot ignore this question, because the War Department is now preparing you for the dying and killing of the next war.

That statement is signed by Robert Morss Lovett. It was made, I believe, in August 1932.

Mr. LOVETT. In connection with the Association Against Militarism and Education. I was opposed to the R. O. T. C.

Mr. NORRELL. And at that time you, as a professor, were circulating literature among the R. O. T. C. students in this country, in which you were trying to make them believe that the War Department was preparing them to die or to be killed in the next war.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, isn't that true?

Mr. NORRELL. Now, do you mean to tell this committee today that the War Department of the United States Government created the R. O. T. C. and permitted the boys to enter that organization for military training with the willful and malicious and deliberate intent that at some future time this Government would cause them to be killed and die?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. That is what you said, isn't it?

Mr. LOVETT. The point is simply that at the time in 1932 we were disposed to emphasize peace through international agreement, and the infusion of militarism in education, the R. O. T. C. seemed to be in opposition to the national policy expressed in the Kellogg Pact.

Mr. NORRELL. You were opposed to it and you were telling the young men at that time that they ought to be interested in this subject because the War Department of the United States Government was giving them training with the deliberate intent of causing them to be killed at some later date.

Now, do you believe today that the War Department of our Government intended for any American soldier, much less an R. O. T. C. college student, to die?

Mr. LOVETT. No. Dying is incidental to war.

Mr. NORRELL. This Government didn't want war, did it?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. The War Department did not want war; did it?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. Then, can you say that the War Department intended back yonder in 1927 or 1928, whenever this was, that these fine young men were at that time in training so that later on the War Department would cause their deaths?

Mr. LOVETT. No. The death was purely incidental to war, and the encouragement of military feeling in the country makes it more difficult to enforce the ideal of peace.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. What condition would this country be in today if it had not been for the very thing which you condemned at that time, to wit, the R. O. T. C. all over this country, training boys in military tactics?

Mr. LOVETT. I was wrong in my condemnation.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, I am glad that you admit it.

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly. I say, at that time we had an almost superstitious faith in the alliance of nations to refuse to use war as a method of political policy.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. Then there is this further quotation:

In 1927 all your aims were destroyed and your achievements defiled. The country was swept by a wave of hysteria deliberately provoked by the imperialists of their press.

Now, I ask you, as a soldier of that war, and as one who went and did what his country asked him to do, if you mean to tell me this morning that I and the other ex-soldiers of this country in 1917, had our aims destroyed and our achievements defiled by this Government, and that we were swept into war by hysteria and not by the stern realities of a dictator who wanted to conquer the world at that time.

Mr. LOVETT. My son was a soldier in that war.

Mr. NORRELL. But I don't believe your son will support that statement.

Mr. LOVETT. And he was killed in action in Belleau Woods.

Mr. NORRELL. I don't think your son will support that statement, or would.

Mr. LOVETT. Probably not. But I felt, in looking back on the entry of the First World War and the peace that followed, that it was the result of a mistaken policy.

Mr. NORRELL. We did not conclude the peace and I agree with you that the war stopped too soon. If you have just said here: Now, the war was not caused by hysteria; this Government did not necessarily destroy your aims and defile your achievements; the war was, so far as the United States was concerned, a just war, actually attempting to end wars and make the world forever safe for democracy; but you just did not fight quite long enough, and we did not win the peace—I would agree with you on that.

But I don't see how you can say as an official of the United States Government, that the war was caused by hysteria and that that hysteria caused the life of your son and mine to be marred, our homes to be destroyed, and our achievements to be defiled.

Mr. LOVETT. Looking back on the First World War from the date 1932, that was undoubtedly my view at that time.

Mr. NORRELL. Did you at that time, Doctor, actually take the position that the war, so far as we are concerned—I am not saying something about the war between Germany and Great Britain but as far as this country was concerned—was caused by hysteria? Do you still say that now?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. Did you mean it then?

Mr. LOVETT. I did mean it then, undoubtedly, or I should not have made it. I say at that time that we had an almost superstitious; and I might even say—hysterical—attitude ourselves toward peace; the possibility of peace.

Mr. NORRELL. You even go far enough here to make this statement: "Even the schools became instruments of excitement to hatred and war." You still think that is true?

Mr. LOVETT. I believe that was exaggerated, but there was undoubtedly hysteria in the country at that time and students were particularly caught by it.

Mr. NORRELL. It was not unjustifiable, was it?

Mr. LOVETT. I think that hysteria is really never justifiable.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, there has been hysteria in this country today.

Mr. LOVETT. No, I don't think so.

Mr. NORRELL. I think people in this country are very tense.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. People in this country did not want war; Congress did not want it; the President did not want it.

Mr. LOVETT. That is right.

Mr. NORRELL. And we were all nervous for months and months, trying to stop it.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. And we were getting to see each day that things were getting more complicated.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I believe that the state of the country at the present time is infinitely more healthy and therefore more likely to be productive of good in the outcome than it was in the First World War, so far as I can remember.

Mr. NORRELL. We had no different public sentiment during the First World War than we have now; did we?

Mr. LOVETT. I think that the attitude of the country today is saner, more assured for that reason.

Mr. NORRELL. What I am trying to get at is whether or not you still think the First World War, so far as our participation, was caused by our hysteria.

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. Now, here is a statement I want to read from a letter dated January 1940, by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, and I quote:

The danger of these so-called antialien bills still exist. They have only been temporarily prohibited from passing and will be one of the first points on the legislative agenda when Congress reconvenes in January 1940.

Now, I wonder if you can tell us what antialien bills you were condemning at that time; what you considered anti-alien. I, as a Member of Congress, don't know that I have ever voted on a bill that had for its purpose antialien. I have always rather wanted to see them get justice, and if possible, become American citizens and be

the kind of American citizens that they ought to be, or they ought to go back to the country where they came from. Why were you so intent on defeating bills that had, as you say, for their purposes, antialien legislation?

Mr. LOVETT. What is the date?

Mr. MORRELL. January 8, 1940.

Mr. LOVETT. I should have to look up and see what antialien bills were referred to. But, Mr. Chairman, may I register an objection to being held responsible for everything which appears in the literature of organizations which I am connected with? Anything I said over my own signature, of course, I am responsible for.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Well, I might say that there are a great many things here that are over your own signature.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; that is right.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you accept responsibility?

Mr. LOVETT. For anything over my own signature; yes, sir.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, I think it ought to show that I am not asking the witness about anything except what is over either his own signature or comes from an organization of which he is a very high officer. We will try to make a distinction—I want to be fair with you, between the two—and I don't want to make any improper assumptions.

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall the antialien bills that were referred to in that statement of 1940, and I should have to look up the records.

Mr. NORRELL. All right.

Mr. GARDNER. There were some at that time. I have a recollection that in 1940, when the Alien Registration Act was passed, there were also some fairly extreme bills introduced in Congress.

Mr. LOVETT. Fingerprinting aliens.

Mr. GARDNER. Well, it went considerably beyond that and a number of people were concerned about it. None of them got beyond the point of discussion.

Mr. NORRELL. I just wanted to get what he considered himself—whether antialien. I assume that you have reference, when you made that statement, or when your organization made that statement about antialien bills, to the bills embodied in this statement, and I quote now from the Call National Action Conference for Civil Rights, dated April 19 and 20—I don't know what year it is; it is not over your signature. Yes, it is; it is over your signature. At least, you are shown on the back as a sponsor; that is right; you were a sponsor of this program, and in one paragraph of the program, stating as one of its purposes or one of the purposes of the meeting, you make this statement, or the organization makes this statement:

In Congress ready now for enactment are bills on wire-tapping, universal fingerprinting, repeal and drastic amendment of the National Labor Relations Act, outlawing closed shops, prohibiting strikes, deportation, or concentration camps for aliens, outlawing minority parties, life imprisonment for treachery, death sentence for sabotage, and life imprisonment for advocating changes in Government.

Were those the policies that you were referring to?

Mr. LOVETT. At that time; yes. Naturally, in the course of war we find the necessity for certain things that we should condemn on general democratic principles.

Mr. NORRELL. All right. I just wanted to know if you condemned those bills.

Mr. LOVETT. At that time.

Mr. NORRELL. I am going to hurry along from here now.

Mr. CARTER. Do you want to adjourn or try to finish before we adjourn?

Mr. NORRELL. I think I can get through in 5 minutes longer.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Jensen, don't you have some questions to ask?

Mr. JENSEN. Yes; just a very few.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Maybe we had better wait until we come back at 2 o'clock.

Mr. CARTER. Let us do that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. We have that appointment at 2 o'clock with Grover Hill, and I have one or two questions further.

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Chairman, I believe I can get through by 12:45 if you want to go ahead. I will rush through.

Mr. CARTER. And I have a matter pending with Mr. Fortas, if we could just get to him for a couple of questions.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. What shall we do about that?

Mr. NORRELL. Why, it is up to the chairman. I can get through in 3 or 4 minutes, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. JENSEN. I can get through in 1 minute.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. All right; suppose we finish.

Mr. NORRELL. I quote here from a letter from the League for Mutual Aid, of which you appear to be an officer, the following:

Yes; we get a great many letters like these; liberals and radicals of all shades of opinion constantly come for help to the League for Mutual Aid. Loans without interest or red tape, jobs without a fee, personal service of every kind. Their needs are often despaired. They are always pressed. For example, what would you do if you were an active worker for some unpopular cause and found yourself boycotted from jobs, or if you were a Negro who had to deal with the colored prejudice in seeking a livelihood in this day of keenest competition, or if you were a free-lance artist and became seriously ill, and so on.

I believe you said you may have contributed to that organization for those purposes.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, if you don't mind, to go back to this meeting that the chairman asked you about, with Mr. Browder, why were you there?

Mr. LOVETT. I beg your pardon? My attention was diverted for a moment? To what meeting do you refer?

Mr. NORRELL. That was a meeting of this political rally of Browder and Ford, and he was running for President. The chairman read some statement about that, that appeared in the press at that time.

Mr. LOVETT. I did not attend. Perhaps—

Mr. NORRELL (interposing). You said that.

Mr. LOVETT. I passed the group in front of Madison Square Garden. I was with a lady from whom perhaps I can obtain a statement to the effect that it was purely accidental, our passing, and somebody recognized me and called out from the loud speaker, to which I made no response and moved away.

Mr. NORRELL. Well, it should be stated that you were unable to gain admittance.

Mr. LOVETT. Nonsense! I never tried.

Mr. NORRELL. You joined the overflow throng on Forty-ninth Street; that is right, is it?

Mr. LOVETT. I passed by and stood for a few moments, doubtless. I had no intention whatever of going to the meeting; I can assure you of that. I was in the other camp.

Mr. NORRELL. Where were you a resident then; in Chicago?

Mr. LOVETT. How is that?

Mr. NORRELL. Were you a resident of Chicago at that time?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. NORRELL. You accidentally went to New York from Chicago, and landed up at that meeting, but it was all an accident?

Mr. LOVETT. I had interests in New York. I was the editor of the New Republic. I was in various educational and literary connections in New York, and spent part of each year in New York.

Mr. NORRELL. The time I set I would get through is about finished. I have one more question to ask.

On October 3, 1936, your organization, the Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Marcantonio—you had some letterheads printed here in which you give that as your organization at the top of the page and the different officers and the committee members and so on, and you appear to be a committee member, and the language that I am going to read you was printed on all of these letterheads. I assume they were distributed by the thousands. You make, among other statements, in boxcar letters, the following statement, and I quote:

Marcantonio is the most valuable Member of the House, bar none.

Do you still say that is true?

Mr. LOVETT. Is that attributed to me personally?

Mr. NORRELL. I state, Mr. Chairman, that these are printed or mimeographed or multigraphed letters distributed in New York on October 3, 1936, or they are dated at that date, over the organization known as Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, and on the right side of the page is a list of committee members, and I find the name of Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, and at the bottom of the letter in print, either print, or mimeograph, or multigraph, are these words:

Marcantonio is the most valuable Member of the House, bar none—
and then a dash or two, and then—

Prof. Robert Morss Lovett—

showing that you issued that statement.

Now, I want, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, to ask that, and that is my last question.

Mr. LOVETT. I consider Marcantonio a valuable member, but that statement is certainly an exaggeration.

Mr. NORRELL. Read the statement in boxcar letters down there at the foot of the letter and tell me if that is quoting you correctly? How many of those letters did you send out, if you remember, during his campaign?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know; these were sent out by the Non-Partisan Committee, and if you will look it over you will see that—

Mr. NORRELL. Just a moment; hold it right there.

Mr. LOVETT. You will see that this is a Non-Partisan Committee matter.

Mr. NORRELL. I will ask you what appears at the heading on the right side of the page?

Mr. LOVETT. Committee members.

Mr. NORRELL. And under the heading of committee members, whose name am I pointing at at this time?

Mr. LOVETT. You are pointing at my name.

Mr. NORRELL. Now, what do you see in larger type letters, written at the bottom of the page in the center? I wish you would read that for the record.

Mr. LOVETT (reading):

Marcantonio is the most valuable Member of the House, bar none, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett.

Mr. NORRELL. Did you say that?

Mr. LOVETT. I daresay I must have said it, or it would not be there.

Mr. NORRELL. That is all.

Mr. LOVETT. I admit it is an exaggerated statement.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Lovett, what is your title as an official of our Government in the Virgin Islands?

Mr. LOVETT. Government secretary.

Mr. JENSEN. Who appointed you?

Mr. LOVETT. President Roosevelt.

Mr. JENSEN. When were you appointed?

Mr. LOVETT. In April 1939.

Mr. JENSEN. Now, you are very well acquainted with Earl Browder, I take it, because you had many associations with him. In your opinion, do you believe now that Earl Browder is a patriotic American citizen?

Mr. LOVETT. How is that?

Mr. JENSEN. Do you think that Earl Browder is a patriotic American citizen?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know; I presume so.

Mr. JENSEN. You stated that the Soviet Union had stood the test of fire.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. Don't you think that our Government, our form of government, has also stood the test of fire in the whole one hundred and sixty-some years of its existence?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. Even against every kind of an attack that could be made against it by certain enemies of our Government and to our form of government?

Mr. LOVETT. I didn't quite get that.

Mr. JENSEN. I say, even our form of government has stood the acid test.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. Of attacks that have been made against our particular form of government.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. You stated that government power led to corruption. Now, do you think at this time that the high officials of the totalitarian government of Russia are less corrupt than certain high officials in our present Government?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't know. I have not sufficient knowledge of conditions in Soviet Russia to answer that question.

Mr. JENSEN. But you do, however, have considerable confidence and faith in the Communist form of government, I take it.

Mr. LOVETT. To the extent that it has disciplined its people to go through a test which I should describe as a test by fire.

Mr. JENSEN. And you would recommend that our Government go through the same test of fire?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I never have.

Mr. JENSEN. But yet you give aid and comfort to many organizations here which do believe in the total destruction of our form of government by force and violence.

Mr. LOVETT. I don't understand that the Communist Party does subscribe to that doctrine. They have denied it and I don't know any reason for believing that they hold it.

Mr. JENSEN. If you believed they did hold that principle, would you then divorce yourself or separate yourself from all of these organizations that are accused by the Justice Department?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. Of believing that we should destroy our form of government by force and violence?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I should never join any organization which in the opinion of the Department of Justice was subversive, even if I held a contrary opinion. I should think the judgment of the Government, of the Department of Justice, as representing this Government.

Mr. JENSEN. Then we can expect you to resign from all of these organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. I think they have——

Mr. JENSEN. Just a moment—that the Department of Justice has cited as subversive and are Communist fronts or are Communist organizations which advocate the overthrow and the destruction of our Government by force and violence; do I understand that, Mr. Lovett?

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly. Most of these organizations are things of the past. They have already disappeared.

Mr. JENSEN. We understand that thoroughly, but there are a lot of them left, an outgrowth of those organizations, that you are still a member of.

Mr. LOVETT. I have had no connection——

Mr. JENSEN. I want to know, and I think it is well for this committee to know and for the taxpayers of the United States to know—from whom you collect your salary—are you going to resign from all these organizations, or are you not, that have been cited by the Justice Department and the Dies committee and the interdepartmental committee, who have investigated these organizations and find that they are subversive? Now, I think in all fairness to you, and we are giving you a chance here, are you going to resign, or are you not?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Mr. JENSEN. From all of them?

Mr. LOVETT. As an official of the United States Government, I feel bound to accept the judgment of the Department of Justice as to the propriety of my belonging to any organization.

Mr. JENSEN. All right, as an official, but as a citizen of the United States of American then, who is employed——

Mr. LOVETT. I should not belong to any organization which was banned as subversive.

Mr. JENSEN. We take it then that you are going to resign from all of them?

Mr. LOVETT. I don't think I am a member of more than two or three of the organizations that have been mentioned, the League for the Protection of the Foreign Born—and I cannot believe that that would be banned as a subversive organization.

Mr. JENSEN. But, if it is cited by the Justice Department——

Mr. LOVETT. Yes——

Mr. JENSEN. As subversive, then are you going to resign?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I have never seen any list of organizations banned by the Department of Justice. I feel that it is due to the citizens of the United States that such statement should be made.

Mr. JENSEN. Further, if you do resign, you will not reenter and ask for membership again?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. JENSEN. All right. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Lovett, under date of April 25, 1941, you received a confidential letter from the Secretary of the Interior, did you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I think so.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I will read just a short part of it to refresh your memory about this matter. It says in part

The Department of State has called to the attention of the President "Call to Fourth Congress of League of American Writers"—of which you are a signer, and later it says in this letter of transmittal the State Department says:

This League of American Writers is generally regarded as a Communist subsidiary. Its policies, of course, always parallel those of the Communist Party.

In this three-page letter of the Secretary of the Interior, after discussing this organization to some extent, he adds:

I exceedingly regret this act on your part, especially in view of the fact that as you undoubtedly know this Department has frequently been called upon to defend you against the charge (a) that you are a Communist and (b) that you are sympathetic to communism and therefore in effect a so-called fellow traveler.

Continuing, the Secretary says in this same letter:

I can only repeat that in view of the international situation and the announced and deliberate policy of the administration of which you are a part, to give all possible aid to the nations that are resisting Hitler and nazism. Your signature to this call represents an indiscretion of a high order which is embarrassing to this Department.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I have a copy of your reply, which I shall not read at this time but have furnished to members of the committee.

Mr. LOVETT. And a copy of the letter that I wrote.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I believe I have that also, as well as copies of other letters. But, it seems that rather than being remorseful and penitent about being a member of such an organization, that you set out to defend them and insist that these and other organizations are patriotic organizations and are not Communist organizations or

even Communist front organizations; that is the thing that is appalling to me about the whole situation. That is all.

Mr. LOVETT. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that I do not explore the possibility of an organization being thoroughly patriotic and yet having members who are Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And you still maintain that all of those forty-odd organizations that you have affiliated yourself with are, so far as your knowledge is concerned, patriotic organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And not Communist organizations?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir; devoted to the best interests of the country.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That is all. Thank you.

(After Mr. Fortas was heard, the following proceedings took place:)

Mr. LOVETT. Mr. Chairman, may I make a correction in the last answer that I gave? When I say as a citizen I would resign from all organizations which the Attorney General thought subversive, I said "Yes," because I don't think any citizen would wish at this time to be a member of an organization which was so denounced, but I should add, with the right of appeal; I should like to appeal to the Attorney General in a case where I thought he was distinctly wrong, as in the case of the Mutual Aid.

Mr. GARDNER. He has not condemned the Mutual Aid.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, there may be some organizations there that he has. I have never seen the list. I have never seen any organization condemned as subversive, but in some cases I certainly reserve the right to appeal. Thank you very much.

I thank you for giving me the privilege to appear here, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NORRELL. Are you still on the editorial staff of the New Republic?

Mr. LOVETT. No.

Mr. NORRELL. How long since you resigned?

Mr. LOVETT. Oh, I resigned—when I became an official I tried to resign from everything that could be criticized.

Mr. NORRELL. When did you resign from New Republic?

Mr. LOVETT. I resigned from New Republic at that time, in 1939.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Doctor, I might say there is nobody on this committee that would criticize you for being a Communist if you wanted to be or a sympathizer of communism or Communist friends, if you desired to be, as a private citizen, but as a public official, holding a very responsible position in the Virgin Islands, then you cease being a private citizen.

Mr. LOVETT. Quite right; sir.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And when reports come to this committee that you are a Communist or Communist sympathizer, and these reports come to our attention frequently, as chairman of this committee it occurred to me that it was not only our right but our duty to call you before the committee and ask you these questions.

Mr. LOVETT. Certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. And we hope we haven't embarrassed you too much.

Mr. LOVETT. Not in the least. I appreciate the opportunity very much.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Very well then. That will be all. Thank you.